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ISRAELI BUSINESS ACTIVITIES IN LEBANON ON RISE

Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 4 Aug 82 p 9

[Article by Yisrael Tomer: "Trade Opportunities with Israel Excite Lebanese Merchants; Last Month Trade Volume with Lebanon Reached \$4 Million; Israel's Commerce and Industry Ministry Promised First Delegation of Lebanese Merchants to Import Goods Intended for Lebanon through Israeli Ports without Customs or Taxes; Banks Will Seek Ways to Simplify Payment Process"]

[Text] The Ministry of Commerce and Industry has decided to allow Lebanese merchants to import goods from other countries and export goods from Lebanon through Haifa harbor or Ben-Gurion Airport according to the transit system, whereby goods will move through Israel without paying customs or taxes, in sealed containers. This was reported yesterday by Gid'on Pat, minister of commerce and industry after a meeting in Jerusalem with the first delegation of 25 merchants from Beirut, Sidon and Rashayah. The delegation is now visiting Israel as the guest of the ministry and the Israeli chamber of commerce. The delegation includes Christians and Muslims and even one Jew.

In light of the present situation in Lebanon, most of the imports arrive by way of Cyprus to the port of Juniyah in small vessels, making freight rather expensive. Importing goods through Israel can cut the cost of freight by half.

Receiving Credit

The Lebanese merchants now visiting Israel were told that one way of facilitating the transport of goods from Israel to Lebanon will be allowing Israeli trucks to deliver goods in Lebanon instead of having to transfer them to Lebanese vehicles.

Recently orders of goods from Israel to Lebanon have grown, particularly construction materials, glass and food products. Last month Lebanese trade in Israel reached \$4 million. This is 6-8 times higher than the trade level in the past, when trade only took place with southern Lebanon.

Israeli officials indicate that if this rate continues, Lebanon will soon become a major business partner of Israel.

The Lebanese merchants who came yesterday for a 2-day visit to Israel have been showing interest and enthusiasm over trade possibilities with Israel.

During the meeting yesterday they made suggestions for simplifying the payment procedure.

One of the Lebanese merchants said that at this time Lebanese merchants have to pay cash or work through American banks, a lengthy process that takes weeks. He said the Lebanese merchants are looking for a system that will simplify the process and will enable them to receive the credit applicable to such transactions.

Avraham Ashri, director general of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, responded immediately and said that "you are right, a volume of \$4 million per month requires a more sophisticated system of payments and bank services. We are now searching for ways, along with the banks, to improve the process of transferring the payments between the two countries, while reducing the commissions."

The scene of festive receptions for Lebanese businessmen in Jerusalem, with Israeli and Lebanese flags decorating the reception hall, has become a common sight here.

During the meeting yesterday it was told that one of the Lebanese exporters has already used the good offices of Israel and has sent a first shipment of leather products to Africa through Haifa harbor.

Industry Products

"Won't trade relations with Israel harm the many financial ties of Lebanon with the rest of the Arab world?" we ask a young merchant whose family is still in West Beirut. The merchant, who is looking into buying building materials to rebuild the damaged city answers willingly: "Most Arab countries want peace with Israel. But one is afraid of the other. We Lebanese need not be afraid that our ties with Israel will affect our relations with the Arab world. On the contrary, we need to look into what we can buy in Israel in terms of industrial products and sell to other Arab countries."

In his welcoming speech Industry Minister Pat tried to dispel possible doubts or suspicions. "All we want is to sell you what you want to buy, and buy from you what you are able to sell. We want mutual trade, like good neighbors, and I promise you that Israel has no intentions of broadening its economic base at the expense of Lebanon or harm the economic base of your beautiful country."

Expensive Items

The minister reminisced about his childhood, when he used to vacation with his parents in Lebanon, "the Switzerland of the Middle East." He expressed his hope to the guests that their country, and particularly Beirut, will soon

return to normal life. "Israel is willing to contribute to the acceleration of the economic recovery of Lebanon," he added.

As for the existing political problems, the minister said he hoped that trade relations and economic solutions would help overcome such problems as well.

Mr Pat expressed the wish that Lebanon, Israel, Egypt and perhaps other countries as well in the region will soon start free trade relations.

Armand Khury, a wealthy merchant from Beirut, responded in the name of the delegation. The elegant merchant did not hide his surprise regarding the warm reception. Excitedly, he thanked the president of Israel, the Government of Israel, its people and army, for helping his people during 8 years of civil war, being the only ones to extend any help in the struggle against "lies, murderers, and attempts to cause Lebanon to disintegrate."

After the reception, 'Isam Al-Hisham, a merchant from Sidon who was now in Israel on his twenty-first visit in recent months said: "Israeli products are good, and relatively inexpensive, although some things are expensive. I have so far bought from you glass, Coca Cola and Blue Band products. I am now looking for additional items."

"Why only 2 days? It's not enough," one of the Lebanese guests said. "No problem," the Israeli hosts responded. "Anyone who wants to stay can."

9565

CSO: 4423/198

BRIEFS

LEBANESE KIBBUTZ VOLUNTEERS--Dozens of young people from Christian villages in southern Lebanon have organized to do volunteer work in the kibbutzim of the Upper Galilee. These young people say they wish to work in order to replace the kibbutz members who are still serving in the armed forces, mainly in Lebanon. They are willing to do any job offered them, and are now in contact with the kibbutzim in the northernmost Galilee salient seeking to use the services of the volunteers. The volunteers will work only during the day, and will go back at night to their homes across the border. This activity is part of the campaign to raise funds among the residents of "free Lebanon" for LAVI, in the amount of 400,000 shekels, according to LAVI's representative, and to organize visits of wounded IDF soldiers at Rambam Hospital. The visited soldiers have received a gift package from residents of "free Lebanon." [Text] [Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 30 Jul 82] 9565

CSO: 4423/198

ALGIERS 'VOP' CARRIES 'ARAFAT'S FAREWELL ADDRESS TO BEIRUT

LD071026 Algiers Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1702 GMT 30 Aug 82

[Text] The brother leader Abu 'Ammar, chairman of the PLO executive committee and commander in chief of the forces of the Palestine revolution, addressed a farewell message last night to the masses of the heroic Lebanese people on the eve of his departure from Beirut. Here is the text of the message:

My beloved people in Arab Beirut, valiant Beirut; my dear brothers, the heroes of the joint forces: I address you all; I address each man, woman and child at these historic moments in the life of our heroic joint struggle. Through our pains, sufferings and deep belief and solid determination and will together we recorded the most glorious pages in the history of our Arab nation--the miraculous epic of Beirut. History stood breathless following the miracle of steadfastness and heroism which was written by the valiant civilian sons of Beirut and their brothers the fighters defending this city in confronting the ugliest U.S.-Israeli war machine in this modern age. At this bad time for the Arabs this handful of Palestinian and Lebanese revolutionaries rose from this common trench, united under the hail of hundreds of thousands of tons of bombs which used to fall on us night and day, from the sea, from land, and from the air for a period of nearly 3 months. In this epic Beirut recorded a heroic miracle through the decision we took to confront the criminal invaders in the most difficult and darkest conditions ever experienced by the Arab nation. It made this epic a symbol of heroism and a guiding light for defiance and dignity throughout history.

My brothers and beloved in heroic Beirut. Arab Lebanon opened its heart for our revolution and just cause. It was an extension for the old-standing traditions of our nation's resistance, in which our grandfathers participated in defense of this land against the invaders and their colonial ambitions. No matter what I do and no matter how much effort I make, I will not be able to express through these simple words the feeling of deep love and appreciation I have in my heart for all those whom I got to know in this great country which embraced our revolution with all love, sincerity, and sacrifices. Words are incapable to describe these relations of struggle which bound us together and which remind us quite rightly of the time of the companions of God's prophet--may God's prayers and blessing be upon him.

You were and still are our supporters and the supporters of these Mujahidin at a time when friendship is so scarce and support is scarce too.

My brothers and beloved: we walked together for a long time in our unique joint march which made Palestine and Lebanon two hearts in one body, one soul, and one conscience for this world. In these days we fought together in defense of besieged Beirut encircled by the strong Israeli-U.S. army. By its glorious steadfastness Beirut appeared much bigger than its geographical size and larger than its 10 square kilometers. Beirut was rightly by its human and material capabilities much stronger than their modern and internationally-banned weapons. It suffices to say that our jointly waged battle has planted the seeds of great change as far as our two peoples and our nation are concerned. This is because the torrent of blood which cascaded from among the ruins and destruction, from the massacres and tragedies, from the caravans of martyrs has honorably and with full dignity reaffirmed the epic of steadfastness and the firmness of the will for confrontation and also the miracle of [words indistinct] will become stronger.

The positive data and the great lessons of this revival will remove the film that covers our Arab world. This revival has enabled us to discover the capabilities which the Beirut heroic epic has realized--the epic which upturned the military balances thanks to the (?steadfastness) with which we confronted the criminal fascists. Events of the past glorious days have discarded the sick imaginations for good. They have (?concentrated) the capability of the believing struggling Arab man, armed with the will to fight, and the capabilities of the Arab masses to mount a hot and inevitable confrontation in order to ensure the future of our children on our good earth so that they will not fall slaves in the era of the new Zionist-U.S. invasion. He who understands the lessons of the present and the past realizes full well that this nation is destined to struggle so that we will continue along our path, paved for our heroes and the future generations who will raise the banner of freedom high.

I have a word to say to those Lebanese brothers with whom we differed in the past for any reason at all. I would like to tell them that, apart from (?considerations) of fraternity and common blood and destiny which will continue, we fought and suffered in defense of Lebanon, and that those who sacrificed themselves and their blood are dear to us; they sacrificed themselves in defense of the good earth on which our forefathers lived and on which our grandchildren will live; this earth will remain forever Arab, whether the aggressors want that or not, and whether the criminal invaders accept it or not.

My beloved brothers and my comrades in the joint forces: Those who learn from the lessons of the past and present realize more than others that they should continue to proceed forward along the path of struggle. Those who made the heroic epic of steadfastness know too how to transform this revolutionary revival into fact along the path of pains and sufferings leading to liberated Palestine and to our holy Jerusalem.

In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate; and to enter your temple as they had entered it before, and to visit with destruction all that fell into their power. [Koranic verse]

Let your hearts be assured. Victory is but from God. It is a revolution until victory.

[Signed] Your brother Abu "Ammar

CSO: 4400/463

INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

FATAH OFFICIAL ON CONTINUATION OF ARMED STRUGGLE

GF052030 Doha QNA in Arabic 1430 GMT 5 Sep 82

[Text] Doha, 5 Sep (QNA)--In statements to the Qatari newspaper AL-"ARAB, Samih Abu Kuwayk, Fatah central committee member, stressed that the armed struggle is the only alternative for Palestinian resistance and the only response against the Zionist enemy.

The Palestinian official said that the Zionist enemy did not achieve its total goals in Lebanon and that the war enriched the resistance's experience and eliminated many defects in the ranks of its armed forces.

Abu Kuwayk noted that the goal of the Zionist invasion of Lebanon was to strike at the PLO's structure, get the Syrian forces out of Lebanon and establish a Lebanese government which would readily sign a peace agreement with Israel.

Regarding the Soviet stand on the Zionist invasion, the Palestinian official said: The Soviet Union cannot intervene militarily if it is not asked by a sovereign state and the PLO does not have this qualification.

Aub Kuwayk asserted that there is still a chance to strike at the Zionist enemy and foil the U.S.-Zionist plan in the area, noting that the Fedayeen is still carrying out operations against the Israeli army in Lebanese villages.

CSO: 4400/463

PALESTINIAN SPOKESMAN: GUERRILLAS TO REGROUP

AU291907 Rome ANSA in English 1855 GMT 29 Aug 82

[Text] Tunis, 29 Aug (ANSA)--The Palestine Liberation Organization intends to regroup guerrillas from Tunisia, Sudan and Northern Yemen in Syria to resume activities against Israeli forces in Lebanon and in the occupied Arab territories, the spokesman for the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine [as received] (Jamil Hilal), told ANSA here Sunday.

(Hilal) is one of the 988 Palestinians who arrived Saturday aboard the Cypriot ship Sol Phryne at the Tunisian port of Bizerte. The DFLP spokesman reported that he will leave Tunisia Monday for Damascus where preparations are underway for "the return of the fighters to the front lines."

"We hope that our men do not have to stay in Tunisia more than three months. A small group will set out for Syria in a few days and the others will follow," (Hilal) said.

Six hundred of the Palestinians isolated in the (Hued Zarga) Camp, 80 kilometers from Tunis, are members of the Al Fatah organization, the biggest grouping in the PLO, and another 350 belong to a number of Palestinian alignments, including the Democratic Front. All the Fedayeen in the camp turned their side arms over to members of the Tunisian military upon disembarking yesterday.

PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat is also expected to come to Tunisia to take up residence in the guest house for government guests on the outskirts of the capital.

CSO: 4400/463

INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

PLO PRESSED TO FORM GOVERNMENT IN EXILE

GF272000 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1835 GMT 27 Aug 82

[Text] Amman, 27 Aug (WAKH)--Reports here today talked about many Arab and foreign attempts to convince the PLO to form a Palestinian government-in-exile to succeed the PLO in the next stage which will follow the Palestinian forces' withdrawal from Beirut.

A Palestinian official who wanted to remain anonymous told the QNA correspondent in Amman that these parties pressed their request on the basis that it will win U.S. recognition, noting that the United States is committed not to recognize the PLO while it is able to review its stand and recognize a Palestinian government-in-exile on the condition that it does not include elements with previous connections to armed Palestinian organizations.

The official agreed that the PLO now believes that it is currently useless to form such government particularly since Israel is not ready to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories and its promises for the future are not enough.

The Palestinian official affirmed that the PLO does not need a formal structure "like a government-in-exile" in view of the international reputation the PLO is enjoying because what is important is to form a state or the Palestinian government in Palestine whether it is liberated or Israel withdraws from it in fulfillment of the Palestine national council resolutions.

CSO: 4400/463

AGRICULTURAL INVESTMENT COMPANY FORMED

Manama SADA AL-USBU' in Arabic No 567, 13 Jul 82 p 8

[Article: "Finally...Agriculture"]

[Text] The Arab Agricultural Investment Company is the first public Arab company to offer its stock to all Arab citizens without exception. It has been proposed that the company will be formed in Bahrain as a tax-exempt (offshore) company with capital of \$1 billion, half of which will be paid through subscription. The primary goals set for the company include the following four basic methods for improving agriculture in the Arab countries:

1. Direct investment in agricultural projects by establishing agricultural companies in the various Arab countries, and with the participation of each country with the proviso that the stockholders in these companies be primarily in the private sector.
2. Processing agricultural products by forming a food processing company to be wholly, or at least 50 percent, owned by the mother company.
3. Trading in agricultural products, agricultural machinery and equipment, and fertilizer by forming companies to trade in these items, wholly, or at least 50 percent, owned by the mother company.
4. Financing agricultural projects by establishing a bank to finance agricultural projects in the various Arab countries on a commercial or developmental basis, to be owned wholly, or at least 50 percent, by the mother company.

A committee for follow-up, originating from the first meeting of Arab businessmen and investors, held a meeting in Kuwait late last June and studied the steps that must be taken to establish the company. Bahrain was represented at these meetings by a delegation from the chamber of commerce headed by Jasim al-Saffar, the second vice president of the chamber. The participants at this meeting agreed to start the company with capital of \$1 billion, half of which is to be paid through subscription. However, the door will remain open for increasing the capital whenever that becomes necessary. Furthermore, the prevailing view is that this company be established in Bahrain as a tax-exempt (offshore) company, on the condition that each of its subsidiary companies carry the nationality of the country in which it will be established. It was also agreed that this view does not preclude other possibilities that may arise for establishing the company in any other Arab country.

The first meeting of Arab businessmen and investors was held in al-Ta'if in Saudi Arabia from 30 March to 1 April 1982. At this meeting the participants agreed that the proposed company would carry out its activities directly, or by establishing companies for the projects to be undertaken in the project's host country or by obtaining the concessions for developing areas of land and infrastructures agreed upon as part of an integrative agricultural project.

They also agreed that the company would be formed as a public Arab company whose shares would be offered to all Arab citizens, making sure that it will remain purely Arab-owned. There was also general agreement that primarily Arab-owned organizations will be permitted to buy stock in it, even if their home office is in a non-Arab country, such as the joint banks and Arab investment companies established abroad. Finally, it was agreed that the Arab governments would be allowed to purchase stock in this company through their organizations on the condition that ownership of a majority of the shares remain in the private sector.

9123

CSO: 4404/0596

SYRIA: FATAH'S KHALAF ON FUTURE OF PALESTINIANS

JN021215 Damascus Domestic Service in Arabic 0515 GMT 2 Sep 82

[Excerpts] The last group of Palestinian fighters, which numbers some 1,000 elements, arrived at the Port of Tartus at 2030 yesterday, on board the Greek ship [name indistinct]. Arriving with the group were brother Salah Khalaf, Fatah central committee member; Abu Mahir al-Yamani, PLO executive committee member and PFLP political bureau member; Sa'd Sayil, Fatah central committee member; and the military officials of all the Palestinian revolution factions. [passage omitted]

Comrade Muhammad Maydar, representative of President Hafiz al-Asad, embraced the hero fighters and welcomed them on behalf of the Ba'th Party secretary general and the party leadership. He said: We are not here to greet you because you are members of this family. You represent the living and throbbing conscience of this nation. In welcoming you, we repeat what we affirmed in blood that the triangle of Syrian-Lebanese-Palestinian steadfastness constitutes the backbone of the Arab struggle at the current stage. The future of this nation depends on the extent of our cohesion and will in confrontation and fighting and the offering of sacrifices.

In a reply speech, brother Salah Khalaf, alias Abu Iyad said: From beloved Syria, revolutionary Syria, I extend my greetings to President Hafiz al-Asad and to his brothers in the leadership. He added: We pin all our hopes and aspirations on the Syrian leadership under President Hafiz al-Asad to preserve the historic attitude of the heroic steadfastness demonstrated by the Syrian, Palestinian and Lebanese fighters. This steadfastness does not only belong to these fighters it belongs to the Arab nation.

Salah Khalaf pledged to the Arab nation that despair will never creep into the spirits of the fighters and that these fighters will continue the march of this revolution. He added: From here, from Syria, we assert that the Palestinian resistance will unite and will assemble in Syria. The headquarters of our leadership will be here until we liberate Palestine.

Khalid al-Fahum, Palestine National Council chairman asserted that the Arab nation is capable of upholding its steadfastness and that the Zionist army, which is equipped with the most modern U.S. weapons, will not be able to harm the steadfastness of our heroic fighters. Our fighters have moved from Beirut to Arab Syria, the land of struggle, revolutionary Syria, and from one struggle trench to another.

INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

THAI PAPER INTERVIEWS PLO ENVOY ON SOUTHEAST ASIA TOUR

BK300812 Bangkok NATION REVIEW in English 30 Aug 82 pp 5-6

["Excerpts" of an interview with 'Ali Fayyad, PLO special envoy in charge of Southeast Asian affairs in the PLO political department, given to an unidentified NATION REVIEW reporter on 27 August in Bangkok and appearing in the "Face the Nation" column]

[Text] Question: What is the stand of the PLO (the Palestinian Liberation Organization) on the crisis in Lebanon?

Answer: The PLO will seek a political solution. We will do our best to avoid the destruction of Beirut and the killing of people through artillery shelling. We have agreed to pull out our troops from Beirut on the condition that the Israeli forces would eventually withdraw from Lebanon. We have so far sent less than 4,000 soldiers, about 3,000 of whom are members of the Palestinian Liberation Army (PLA) from Beirut to Tunisia, North Yemen, South Yemen, Iraq and Jordan.

Question: How about Egypt? Have the Egyptians agreed to accept the PLO fighters?

Answer: No, the Egyptians said they would accept the PLO fighters on the condition that the Americans will come up with a comprehensive settlement of the Palestinian problem.

Question: What does the PLO feel about the American role?

Answer: We feel that the Americans can do more for a political solution. The Americans can affect a new political solution to the Beirut crisis by taking a more impartial stand. I mean by recognizing the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people and not to escape the fact of the rights of the Palestinian people to national independence. We are asking for a clear and open recognition from the United States.

Question: Hasn't the pull-out damaged the PLO's strength and efficiency to a large extent?

Answer: No, I would not say that. The battle for Beirut is not the battle of the PLO and, actually, our main forces are not in Beirut. They are to the east of Lebanon and to the north at Tripoli. We decided not to send more troops into Beirut to avoid the destruction of our main forces which was one of the Israeli objectives in their military offensive against Lebanon.

Aside from the north and the east of Lebanon, we still keep small units of PLO's fighters in the south of Lebanon which is now occupied by the Israeli forces. The fighters, armed with RPG's, machineguns, and some mines, are waging a guerrilla warfare. You know, the areas in the south are very fertile and the people, both Palestinian and Lebanese, are very cooperative with our fighters.

It's a friendly land for us and hostile territory to the Israeli troops. Israel has now about 85,000 soldiers, excluding their air and naval forces. About 35,000 of them are now surrounding Beirut.

Question: How would you describe the situation in Beirut?

Answer: We are facing a difficult situation in Beirut. Because east Beirut is under control of the Phalangists who are directed by Israeli forces while west Beirut, about 25 kms apart, is under siege by the Israeli forces. The Israeli forces bombarded it with artillery shells. The sky is controlled by the Israeli Air Force and the land and mountain here (pointing at a map of Lebanon) are occupied by their forces. Thus, we are in a difficult situation, not only from a military point of view, but also from a logistical point of view. I mean we have half a million of people in west Beirut who are denied water supply. That is why the PLO feels it is our responsibility to search for a political solution to the crisis.

Beirut is being bombarded by the most sophisticated weapons. During my visit to Vietnam, I told them that Beirut is suffering more than Vietnam was during their fight to drive out the American soldiers. The Americans are now using the Israeli forces to test their sophisticated weapons and Beirut is thus a piece of experiment.

Question: So, the Israeli forces are doing damage mostly on the civilians, and not the PLO fighters?

Answer: Yes, we can say the Israeli forces would kill ten civilians for one Palestine fighter.

Question: I wonder how much the dispersal of the PLO fighters from Beirut to other Arab countries would affect the PLO's strength.

Answer: I will tell you. This is no secret. Before the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, we had fighters in Egypt and these belong to the Palestinian people in the Gaza Strip. We also have some battalions of fighters in Jordan and others in Baghdad.

Question: What is your exact position in the PLO?

Answer: I am in charge of the Southeast Asian affairs in the political department. I am an assistant to Foreign Minister Faruq Qaddumi. We have our main office in Beirut, but now that the city is under siege, we direct all the political operations from our office in Damascus.

I have served as the PLO representative in Hanoi for a period since 1976 and later moved to Laos.

Question: What are the purposes of your recent visit to Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos, which started on 23 July?

Answer: I went there to explain our situation and to ask for their support, political and material, because it is a critical moment for the Palestinian people. I mean if they support the Palestinian cause, it's time to support now, and not tomorrow.

Question: What sort of support are you looking for from these Indochinese countries?

Answer: the main objectives of my tour of the Indochinese countries and the countries in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) are: first, to ask for political support. Second, for permission to set up PLO offices in the countries we have been contacting and then for material support, especially medicines, for the affected people in Lebanon. And I got very good and positive response from all the countries I have visited. They have promised to study the PLO's demands.

Question: Did you receive better reception in Malaysia than in other ASEAN countries during the tour? Malaysia seems to be more sympathetic to the Palestinian cause than any other ASEAN countries, doesn't it?

Answer: Well, this is a difficult question to answer. But, I can say that I was received by Prime Minister Datuk Sri Mahthir and Foreign Minister Ghazali Shafie as well as other Muslim leaders in Kuala Lumpur. The mass media in the country also give a very big coverage to my visit. The point I am making is that Malaysia is the only ASEAN country that has a PLO Embassy.

Question: Did the Malaysians promise to give material support to the Palestinian people?

Answer: Yes, I am glad to say that the Malaysian people, organizations and societies are not only raising funds, but are also collecting medicines, and plasma, for the PLO. For example, one magazine collected about US\$ one million (about 23 million baht). And the NEW STRAIT TIMES has raised US\$22,000 (about 506,000 baht).

Question: How about the Malaysian Government?

Answer: I still have no details, but I can say that they are preparing material aid according to the country's conditions.

Question: How were you received in Vietnam and the other Indochinese countries?

Answer: I met Vietnamese Prime Minister Pham Van Dong and in Lagos, I met President Souvanna Phouma.

Question: Any chance at all of arms from Vietnam?

Answer: Actually, we don't need arms from Vietnam for the moment because we are waging a guerrilla warfare and guerrilla tactics require only light weapons which we can obtain from Arab countries and the markets.

Question: So, the basic thrust of your visits to the Indochinese countries was to obtain political and material support, and not weapons?

Answer: Weapons weren't the main aim. If some countries both in the ASEAN and the Indochinese countries want to supply the PLO with arms, we will surely welcome the move.

Question: Is there any indication that this will happen soon? Did anybody tell you that their governments would give military assistance to the PLO?

Answer: I have some promises.

Question: Could you elaborate?

Answer: Well, I am optimistic (laugh).

Question: How about the Thai response to your request to set up a PLO office here and to provide you with material support?

Answer: Firstly, it is very important for the PLO to set up an office here. This is what the PLO considers a sign of friendship for and solidarity with the Palestinian people. Secondly, Thailand has assumed a positive stance in the ASEAN meeting in sympathising with the Palestinian people and condemning the Israeli aggression. I feel personally satisfied with this meeting with Thai officials. Of course, we are looking forward to a promotion of our friendship by giving us a chance to be here in Bangkok.

Question: So, how did the Thai's reply to that?

Answer: The reply is not negative because I did not ask them to close the Israeli Embassy here. I am just asking for the rights to the Palestinian people in expressing their views here through their office, a representation, or an embassy. Any kind of representation the Thai Government considers the most suitable to its conditions.

Question: So, did they say they would be willing to have a PLO office set up here?

Answer: They will study this request and they said they would have to consult on the issue with other partners in the ASEAN as well. As for the

results of my visits to ASEAN countries, I am very happy with the development of their stances. All of them, no exception.

Question: Was there any promise from Thai officials in response to the P'O's call for material support?

Answer: The government promised to study how to contribute to the relief programmes for refugees, both Lebanese and Palestinian. The Thai's are facing the refugee problem and so I think they are sympathetic with our situation.

Question: Did you visit the Chinese ambassador during your stay here?

Answer: No, but I visited the Chinese charge d'affaires. The Chinese ambassador was absent. I went there to thank the Chinese for their continued support for the Palestinian cause. China has continued its support for the PLO since Chairman Mao was alive until now. I also informed the Chinese charge d'affaires that we have already received the recent consignment of aid from China. I told him that the Palestinian people will never forget China as it is the first country to recognize PLO outside the Arab states and the first to allow the PLO to set up its embassy which is now in Peking.

Question: During your mission in Vietnam, did you receive any pledge from the country to provide material support for the PLO?

Answer: The Vietnamese said they would consider how they could contribute to the Palestinian people. It takes them some time to discuss the issue in the Party Central Committee, you know.

Question: What are your views about the Kampuchean problem?

Answer: We seek support from all countries, all forces and all organizations. When Pol Pot was in power, Democratic Kampuchea closed the Israeli Embassy in Kampuchea and recognized the PLO. They also gave us moral and political support. Now that Heng Samrin has come to power, he is doing exactly the same thing.

Question: Has Vietnam ever supplied the PLO with military assistance in the past?

Answer: No, as I said we do not need much military aid from Vietnam, but during the past five years, we have been provided with military experience by the Vietnamese. We have sent some PLO officials to learn guerrilla tactics from the Vietnamese.

Question: You said this is now the most difficult time for the Palestinian people?

Answer: Yes, it is. But we are sure of the future. That's why we continue fighting. We believe in tomorrow and we believe in Arab countries. What I would like to point out is that it is now the historical chance for Arab

countries to join the PLO in launching guerrilla warfare in the south of Lebanon against the Israeli occupants. Until this moment, it's a historical chance, but the Arab countries have not made use of the opportunity because some are hesitating, some are afraid of an Israeli reprisal against their countries, and some are afraid of the American pressure.

I am telling that the weakness of Arab countries is technology and that of the Israeli is their demand. You know, the difference between Arab and Israeli generals is that we believe in our fighters who aspire to the restoration of the Palestinian national independence.

Question: Nevertheless, it seems to many people that the current situation might prompt the PLO to lower its target. I mean how do you perceive the future of your people? Where would the secular Palestinian state be set up? On Israeli soil, despite the fact that the PLO leaders have agreed to recognize the existence of Israel?

Answer: I want to say something. The most important thing for the Palestinian people now is to keep the political prestige against Israel. And to develop this prestige, we have to carefully play politics. We are fighting to achieve our political aim through the combination of military and political campaigns. We just don't fight for the sake of fighting. I can say that now, with the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the PLO is stronger politically and getting more and wider sympathy from the international community. And the situation will help Yasir 'Arafat (the PLO leader) to launch a new political offensive, despite the military difficulty facing us as you know.

Question: What does the PLO intend to do to gain more political momentum during the upcoming seventh non-aligned movement summit conference? Would you campaign for, say, resolutions to condemn Israel?

Answer: No, we have thousands of resolutions against Israel. We have resolutions from the Islamic conference and the non-aligned movement. What we need now is the implementation of the resolutions. It's now the time for all supporters and sympathisers to carry out their commitments, to realize the resolutions.

However, the Palestinians should also move in the political and diplomatic fields to force the Israeli troops to leave Lebanon. Public opinion is favourable to us. We also ask the Americans to start helping us not only by recognizing the PLO, but also pursuing a more open-minded policy toward the Arab people. I just ask for fair stance and understanding in the aspiration of the Palestinian people from the Americans. We don't hate the American people. We respect them as an advanced people and we are waiting for their voices for us just like when the American people supported the legitimate right of the Vietnamese people to their national independence. And we are glad now that the public, especially the mass media in the United States, is beginning to discuss about the Palestinian problem.

FOREIGN MINISTRY SOURCE ON MUBARAK TRIP

NC051852 Cairo MENA in English 1712 GMT 5 Sep 82

[Text] Cairo, 5 Sep (MENA)--An official source at the Foreign Ministry said President Mubarak's visit to Yugoslavia is significant as it takes place in the wake of the grave developments in the Middle East represented in the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the evacuation of the Palestinians.

In a statement to MENA, the source said Egypt is keen that instability elements do not overshadow prospects of peace. It is also keen on reaching a radical settlement of the rights of the Palestinians particularly after the American initiative on the Middle East.

The source said that President Mubarak's visit will give Egypt a chance to have an effective role together with Yugoslavia in enhancing the nonaligned bloc, as Egypt and Yugoslavia were among the founding nations of the movement.

The source said that this was the first meeting between the leaders of the two countries since the early seventies adding that the importance of the visit lies in the fact that the two countries are interested in the Middle East issue and have their special views regarding this issue as well the Palestinian question.

Speaking about President Mubarak's visit to Romania, the Foreign Ministry source said that there has always been coordination between Egypt and Romania.

The source added that Romania had a role in the peace process. The source said that President Mubarak's visit to the two states (Yugoslavia and Romania) indicates that Egypt moves on all world fronts and that it has no ideological inhibitions which might prevent it from completing its effecting and fruitful role on the different world fronts.

The Foreign Ministry source told MENA that the visit of President Husny Mubarak aims at enhancing bilateral ties between Egypt and each of Yugoslavia and Romania in the political, economic, technical and trade fields.

The source said that cooperation between Egypt and Yugoslavia exists within several frameworks on top of which cooperation within the context of the non-aligned movement.

Speaking on the cooperation with Romania, the source said that the volume of trade exchange between Egypt and Romania reached \$400 million, adding that it is expected that after Mubarak's visit the volume of Egyptian exports to Romania would increase and that joint ventures would be set up, covering among other things, cement and concrete iron industries. The source said that this trade exchange comes within the context of the protocol signed between the two countries in 1980.

CSO: 4500/289

WEEKLY CRITICIZES GOVERNMENT OVER PALESTINIANS

PMO21431 Cairo AL-AHALI in Arabic 25 Aug 82 p 2

[Muhammad Sid Ahmad article: "Camp David is No Remedy for the Palestine Problem"]

[Excerpts] The claim by government officials that the Camp David agreement should not be undermined because it is the only document that is binding on Israel lost all its meaning since Israel's invasion of Lebanon. It is in fact an insult to Egypt. The Camp David agreements have bound Egypt, not Israel, and have in effect paralyzed Egypt. They have not prevented Israel from violating every international law and tradition, and they have not prevented Israel from committing genocide against the Palestinian and Lebanese people.

Israel's "peace" with Egypt is "authorization" to commit the ugliest crimes and to wreak havoc in the Arab world as it pleases, with impunity.

Mistaken are those who imagined that the "Egyptian state" needed this "peace" more than Israel, that Israel, relying on its treaty with the Egyptian Government, can threaten, intimidate and blackmail as it likes, and that if the Egyptian Government stood up to it Egypt would be the loser, as some weak-hearted people claim.

Israel must know, clearly and unequivocally, where the whole of Egypt--and especially the Egyptian Government--stands on the issue of Israel's aggressive war against the Palestinians in Lebanon. It must know that the whole of Egypt expects the "Egyptian state" to stand firmly with the Palestinians against the Israelis.

We want to emphasize here that the "Egyptian state's" position in support of the Palestinians is still considerably ambiguous and confusing, and it appears to have yielded to Israeli blackmail. The Egyptian Government has announced that it will never receive Palestinian fighters evacuated from Beirut within the framework of an overall settlement of the Palestine question.

We ask: Is the refusal to accept the fighters unless this condition is met a service to the Palestinians or an accommodation to the Israelis, or is it strictly for Egyptian security considerations? Was it motivated by a desire to use the Beirut battle as the starting point toward recognition of the Pales-

tinian people's legitimate rights and a comprehensive settlement, as the "Egyptian state" claims in its official statements, or was it adherence to the letter of article three of the treaty, which says: "Each side guarantees that no acts of war, violence or threats will be perpetrated from its territory, or by forces stationed on its territory, against the people, citizens and property of the other side."?

We ask: Was this stipulation the reason behind the refusal to admit Palestinian fighters, on the grounds that Israel might regard them as "forces stationed in Egyptian territory" and could possibly pose a threat to Israel? Here, we are naturally not talking about operations inside Israel by people crossing into it from Sinai, because this is impossible for many reasons. One reason is that under the treaty, Sinai is demilitarized and has no Egyptian troops, let alone "Palestinian troops." What we mean is that the fighters might constitute a "threat" to Israeli tourists, who come to Egypt in accordance with the normalization process, or to Israeli property in Egypt.

Perhaps the Egyptian Government wanted to appear as a side prepared to accept the Palestinians but on conditions not unacceptable to Israel, and hence the talk about admitting them only if a comprehensive solution is found for their problem, since a comprehensive solution is found for their problem, since a comprehensive settlement means that the Palestinians would no longer be fighters and would no longer be hostile or constitute a "threat" to Israel. This way the "Egyptian state" honors and adheres to the letter of the treaty and at the same time expresses good sentiments and support for the Palestinians because, with the Egyptian people's unprecedented sympathy with the Palestinians, abandoning the Palestinians would be a provocation to the Egyptian people even more than being a disservice to the Palestinians.

It is, however, impossible for the state to appear to support the Palestinians and at the same time adhere to the letter of its commitments to Israel.

Furthermore, it is a known fact that the achievement of a comprehensive settlement of the Palestine question is unlikely in the foreseeable future. Even the "settlement" under the Camp David agreements, accepted by the "Egyptian state" and rejected by all Palestinian sectors and factions, is still limping to this day and will continue to do so for a long time. The resumption of the Egyptian-Israeli negotiations, not to mention Palestinian participation, has been put off indefinitely. How then can the admittance of the Palestinians evacuated from Beirut be made conditional on such a settlement? Does this not, in actual fact, mean asking for the impossible?

This is not a coincidence. The Camp David agreements, and the treaty based on them, were drafted in such a way as to give Egypt's commitments to Israel priority over every other commitment or responsibility. Under these agreements, the "Egyptian state" cannot side with the Palestinians against the Israelis, whatever crimes and barbaric actions Israel commits.

There is no solution, because if the "Egyptian state" wants to support the Palestinians it must abandon the Camp David framework.

CSO: 4500/287

COMMENTARY ON OPPOSITION

Cairo UKTUBAR in Arabic No 303, 15 Aug 82 p 13

[Article by Ihsan 'Abd-al-Quddus: Weekly Feature: "The Coffee House on Politics Street"]

[Text] With a grave expression on his face the old man said, "I am beginning to disagree with President Husni Mubarak."

Stunned and alarmed the young man replied, "This is curious; this is the first time you say you disagree with him. Have you joined the opposition?"

Looking at the young man as though to reproach him, the old man said, "You know that I would never join a political party or organization. I have never considered myself a member of the opposition or a supporter [of the government]. I did not join the the National Party, the government's party; and I am not a member of the Liberal Party, the Labor Party or the Marxist Grouping Party. I've never joined a political organization, whether that organization was an underground one or not. Consequently, I would not give my consent to being linked with any political leader or any head of state. My freedom is dear to me because when I am free, I can place myself above everybody and give myself the right to question everyone about every step he makes. I may support a step that the National Party may take, and then I may oppose another step that that same party may take. I may support a step by the Grouping Party even though I am not a Marxist, and I may oppose a step taken by the Labor Party despite the confidence I have in Ibrahim Shukri, the president of the party. This is freedom. This is the utmost in freedom, even though some people see this as a kind of escapism and accuse me of being an isolationist."

The young man smiled and said, "You were known to be a revolutionary fanatic, biased in your youth to everything that was considered setting the stage for revolution. Have you changed now that you have become an old man?"

The old man said as though defending himself, "Not at all. Even as a young man I placed my freedom above everybody. However, I favored the opinion that advocated dumping the political regime that existed in Egypt then. I was not a member of any organization, not even a revolutionary organization. I did not consider myself a supporter or an opponent of any organization. I maintained my freedom in evaluating every step. Therefore, I supported the Free Officers because they brought about the revolution, and then I opposed them because I did not think

that the army should rule. I did not take advantage of the revolution the way those who supported it did. Nor did I deal with those matters that members of opposition organizations dealt with. I lived the life of a man who has an independent mind. I used to present my opinion as a mere individual who was entitled to his own opinion, and people were free to evaluate that opinion. This is the utmost in independence and the utmost in freedom."

Smiling to relieve [the tension of] the old man's intense feelings, the young man said, "Tell me anyway, where do you disagree with Husni Mubarak?"

The old man sighed; as though he were resting, he took a long whiff from his water pipe and said, "I disagree with the announcement he made calling for an Arab summit meeting."

The young man said with amazement, "Many Arab leaders share this opinion with President Mubarak. They have all called for a summit conference to determine the future of Lebanon and the future of the Liberation Organization."

The old man said as he turned his lips in disdain, "Even if this conference were actually convened, I will continue to reject it, and I will remain unconvinced by any statement that comes out of it or any resolution adopted in it."

The young man exclaimed, "Why? Why don't you wait until the conference is convened and then you can say what you think about its conclusions?"

The old man let go of the water pipe and said, as though he were about to deliver a lecture, "You have known for a long time, as I used to tell you in our conversations, that I lost hope in anything that any Arab summit conference may conclude. The only Arab summit that came to something was the one that was convened in 1967 after Egypt's defeat. This may be because the impact of the defeat was so strong that the Arab heads of state had to be realistic and candid in making feasible resolutions that could be effective. Credit for the success of that conference goes only to the late King Faysal. After that all the summit conferences that were held and all the resolutions that were made at these conferences were tantamount to silly jokes symbolizing the ignorance and the reactionary nature of the Arab mind. The Arab mind still needs to get rid of its political illiteracy. These conferences ignore reality and are satisfied with appearances. They cannot reach positive, practical resolutions and remain satisfied with rhetorical phrases. If we had much time to talk I can prove to you that all the disasters that befell us were basically due to the resolutions of Arab summit conferences, until the last conference in Fes, Morocco. This conference was characterized by candor. It broke up after the first session without adopting any resolutions. It were as though [Arab leaders] had finally recognized the futility of convening any meeting for Arab leaders.

"How can we imagine convening a conference with Algeria's president and the Moroccan leader present at the same session when they are fighting each other in a semi-official war through the Polisario Organization? How can we bring together at this conference the Syrian president and the Iraqi president, when Syria has publicly joined Iran to fight against Iraq? How can we have al-Qadhdhafi [present] with the remaining Arab leaders even as his verbal attacks against Saudi Arabia, which sound like the jeers of political prostitutes, continue? How

can we have al-Qadhdhafi [at this meeting] when he is attacking the PLO and asking its members to commit suicide and when he is attacking Somalia because Somalia had the audacity to oppose the aggression of his friends in Ethiopia? And so on and so forth. How can the leaders get together when some of them are concealing their daggers with which they can cut each other's throats? How can we call for such a meeting?"

The young man interrupted, "But there is now a serious universal Arab question that is threatening all the Arab countries. Undoubtedly, this universal question will force every leader to set aside his own cause. National questions can only be solved after the pan-Arab question is solved. The Syrian president will find out that he will have to solve his problem with Israel before he can solve his problem with Iraq, and al-Qadhdhafi will find that he must settle the problem of the future of the Palestinian people before he can settle his problem with Saudi Arabia. The leaders can thus achieve a unified position on one question."

In a tone that seemed to accuse the young man of ignorance, the old man exclaimed, "This is impossible. A national problem is always more pressing than a pan-Arab problem. In fact, a president's character, which determines his own personal objectives, is more pressing than any national or pan-Arab problem. Therefore, there is not the slightest hope that any Arab summit conference will succeed."

The young man said as though he were giving in, "What is the view about which you wish to persuade President Husni Mubarak?"

As though he were in a daze, the old man said absentmindedly, "I hope the president can be persuaded that the positive step that could bring about a common posture would have to come about through bilateral communications. That is, a meeting between two leaders. Such a meeting would not be imposed on either one of them. Each leader would be free to meet or not to meet with the other, unlike those meetings that include all the leaders which a president may attend against his wishes merely to preserve Arab appearances. Because when two presidents meet, they do so willingly, the exchange of views that takes place at such a meeting is more truthful, and the decisions they make are stronger, especially since such a meeting does not attract the publicity that summit meetings attract. Such a meeting would not attempt to win Arab public opinion over with rhetoric and would not try to shirk responsibility by making ambivalent decisions that may be interpreted in 1,000 ways. Decisions that are made by two leaders would mostly be realistic decisions that unequivocally take into account the material reality of every country. Realistic decisions made by six leaders who shared their opinions with each other in the course of bilateral meetings are more useful and more beneficial than ambiguous decisions made by 21 leaders. President Husni Mubarak has been able to realize significant political gains for Egypt through his bilateral communications with Arab leaders. Why doesn't he continue on this course? Why doesn't he change his mind about calling for a summit conference, or rather why doesn't he reject the call for convening a summit if he is invited?"

The young man got up. As he moved away he said, "I have another opinion that I would like to convey to President Husni Mubarak. I have an opinion about the prices of sugar, salt, okra and watermelons...."

'ALI ON RELATIONS WITH ARABS, SOVIETS, CYPRUS

NC030957 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0740 GMT 3 Sep 82

[Text] London, 3 Sep (MENA)--Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Kamal Hasan 'Ali has stressed the need to solve all aspects of the Palestinian question. He pointed out that Egypt's firm position is that the PLO has a role to play in the settlement of the Middle East problem. In a statement to the magazine AL-MAJALLAH in its issue to be published tomorrow, Saturday, 'Ali called on the PLO to unify its position on a political action and with regard to holding a Palestinian-U.S. dialogue. He said that it is clear that there is a reassessment in the U.S. administration of its stand on the method of solving the Palestinian problem.

'Ali called for Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon and demanded that no opportunity be given to Israel to stay in Lebanon. He said that there must be no provocation by any Arab country which Israel could use as a reason to stay in Lebanon 1 (?day) more than it claims.

Asked about Egypt's stand should Lebanon sign a peace treaty with Israel, 'Ali stressed that a future Lebanon which is not under Israeli occupation has the right to do what it wants. He added, however, that the signing of such a treaty under Israeli occupation would cast much suspicion and blemish on this process.

On Egypt's invitation to participate in the Arab summit conference, 'Ali said that since the Arab countries adopted their stand toward Egypt at the Baghdad summit conference, Egypt has not been against Arab solidarity. It is certain, however, said 'Ali, that certain Arab countries are still not prepared to resume relations with Egypt. He referred to President Mubarak's statement that Egypt is not in a hurry for these countries or for their adoption of this decision. The suitable time for them is suitable for us. If Egypt is invited to the summit, (?who will chair it and where)? He pointed out that in its dealings with Arab countries, Egypt follows principles [words indistinct]. He cited as an example that when Morocco sustained heavy losses in (Tanduf) in battles against the Polisario and asked Egypt for ammunition, the ammunition was transported by Egyptian planes without prior agreement on the charges of shipment and ammunition. He added that regarding Iraq, it was inevitable that Egypt should help Iraq defend its territory out of Arab principles. Egypt has ever abandoned its (?role) as an Arab country. Nor has it relinquished its Pan-Arab commitment.

'Ali pointed out that Egypt is not panting to participate in the Arab summit because President Mubarak proposed the idea of convening an Arab summit conference. Therefore, when Egypt calls for convening an Arab summit, it realizes that there are [word indistinct] and that the Arab nation must take a unanimous decision.

On the resumption of relations between Egypt and the Soviet Union and Egypt's support for the nonaligned movement, 'Ali stressed that Egypt should have good relations with all countries of the world, particularly if there are no acute differences that have to do with essential [word indistinct]. Therefore, there must be [words indistinct] and the Soviets normal but not special relations, normal relations with the presence of ambassadors. He stressed that Egypt has strong relations with the nonaligned countries. He said that the task of a foreign minister is to improve relations between Egypt and other countries.

On the resumption of relations with Cyprus, 'Ali said: We believe that some time will pass before relations are restored with Cyprus, because the freezing of relations followed the assassination of Yusuf al-Sibā'i and the Cypriot Government's stand on the incident.

Asked if he expects President Mubarak's forthcoming visit to Romania and Yugoslavia to be the key to rapprochement with Eastern Europe, 'Ali said: Absolutely, because the exchange of visits by Presidents Ceausescu and Mubarak was constant before the Lebanese crisis, after Mubarak assumed office and previously with President al-Sadat. The situation requires further consultations. The visit to Yugoslavia is also very (?important) within the framework of consultation between the Egyptian leadership and the new Yugoslav leadership.

On the failure of the Baghdad nonaligned summit conference, the failure of the Tripoli-African summit and Egypt's moves on these issues, 'Ali said that Mubarak's visit to Yugoslavia is aimed at supporting the nonaligned movement and as for Africa, it is certain that Egypt will adopt a stand following the failure of the Tripoli conference toward regaining the real role of the organization of African unity.

CSO: 4500/289

OPPOSITION EDITORIAL ON GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 31 May 82 p 1

[Editorial: "The Opinion of the Opposition"; AL-AHRAR in the organ of the Socialist Liberal Party]

[Text] In the past two articles we explained that in Egypt implementation is the worst problem and the origin of trouble; that plans, however perfect, and financing, however arranged, will eventually face the question of implementation, standing as a massive obstacle in the face of any achievement or project. The inevitable result is naturally the rising prices, increasing inflation, and the suffering of the masses. When President Husni Mubarak invited the citizens and the political parties to provide their opinion of the Seven Popular Problems, he was doing the right thing to listen to the various, and often opposing, points of view. His call for the holding of the economic conference was also a constructive step....And when he found, after reviewing the decisions and recommendations of the conference, that these were merely general advice, he then demanded more than one detailed plan to correct the economy. The conference was then divided into committees that will reach such detailed plans, for the government to implement and finance, but the problem remains that of implementation....How to carry out these plans in the allotted time and cost, so that economic and social development is carried out in a balanced and complementary fashion.

We all know that implementation of projects in Egypt is the duty of the executive branch, i.e. the government or cabinet, and the departments and agencies under their command. In Egypt executing a plan is usually fraught with deadly slowness and endless complications, in a way that now threatens with failure any plan, however perfect.

In the past article we also explained the problems of implementation, starting with the head of the executive branch and its shortcomings, which we summarized as follows:

First, the division of the cabinet into ministerial committees and groups weakens collective responsibility among the ministers and leads to some conflict in the decisions and laws.

Second, these cabinet committees often cause frustration that the ministers feel when the committee, presumably working as one body, fails to meet on any given day.

Third, the concentration of authority in the hands of ministers leads to the creation of a bottleneck in the office of the minister, thereby halting decisions and eventually the very work on implementing a project. To remedy that we suggested the cabinet should work as one group, meeting weekly on a set day to follow up on implementation, discuss obstacles in order to remove them, and endorse suggested guidelines or laws. This would lead to a harmonious cabinet performance, the positive collaboration of ministers, and speed in adopting a decision.

In this article we will address the second major problem in implementation, that of the deadly centralization of decision-making.

Now that matters are concentrated in the hands of ministers, they have piled up to great stagnation, and assistant ministers have merely turned into a secretariat body that prepares memos for the ministers to review and decide upon, so that the authority of an assistant minister, a head of an agency or a department is now a memory of the past.

AL-AHRAR believes that the way to remedy this is:

First, delegating some authority from the president to the ministers, from the ministers to the assistant ministers and from these to the heads of agencies and departments. Such an arrangement would facilitate the process of decision-making and solving the diverse and constantly emerging problems of the public in time. In short, Egypt should return to a system of decentralization on a large scale, both in the national and local government.... Naturally this would necessitate a comprehensive review of all levels of authority, from the president to the heads of subdivisions, and delegating decision-making to the lowest possible level. Thus can projects be implemented, public problems be solved in the shortest time and production of goods and services increased to lower prices.

Second, bureaucratic routine should be simplified to deal quickly with the problems of the citizens and save their time. The fields of operation of each ministry should be printed in booklets to be distributed to the citizens to save them the trouble of running around in circles and familiarize them with the common procedures.

The Central Bureau of Organization and Administration no doubt knows what this would entail of providing each job with a clear description, clearly outlining its duties and the responsibilities of the authority in charge of making decisions.

Third, employees should be well trained in their posts, so that they should be able to understand the administrative regulations and decisions, and how to implement them in the service of the citizens. Experience has shown that a large percentage of government employees do not know the regulations in order to run their jobs efficiently and save the citizens from entering endless dilemmas with them.

Last but not least it is necessary to provide a well-chosen leadership in all levels of authority. It should be a leadership that can make decisions and is not afraid of assuming responsibilities, nor does it need to hide behind anybody, but would instead face reality, and fearlessly take decisions.

This is the change AL-AHRAR demands for the service of the public.

A change in methods, regulations and levels of authority.

A change in the leadership in charge of implementation on all levels.

This would be the necessary change to avoid delays and procrastination, and that is the warning.

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CSO: 4504/ 351

LEADER OF ILLEGAL RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION ARRESTED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 1 Aug 82 p 10

[Article by Mustafa al-Tarabishi: "Confessions of the Leader of the 'Hashemite Band' Organization; Defendant Claims He Stayed in Seclusion 12 Years Until the Prophet Ordered Him to Emerge and Call For His 'Band'"]

[Text] The prosecutor's office of Supreme State Security yesterday morning started interrogating members of the "Hashemite Band" which had been uncovered by State Security CID a few days ago, the prosecutor having heard the testimony of Muhammad Abu al-Futtuh al-'Arabi, 46 years of age, the leader of the organization who works as a livestock dealer in Idfu District in Aswan.

The confessions made by the leader of the organization during the investigations run by 'Aia' al-Din Mursi, first assistant of the State Security prosecutor's office, under the supervision of Counselor Rija' al-'Azabi, the prosecutor's office public defender, and 'Abd-al-Majid Mahmud, head of the prosecutor's office, included the statement that when he was 12 years old he had seen the Prophet appear in his bedroom. The Prophet asked him to get acquainted with Sayyidi 'Atiyah in al-Mansurah so he had gone to him. This shaykh was 80 years old and his courtyard was crowded with poor people. He had stayed under the shaykh's hospitality until he had another vision of the prophet who told him to go to Shaykh Abu al-Wifa' al-Sharqawi in Naja' Hamadi in Upper Egypt and found his courtyard crowded with pashas and statesmen. He sensed a spiritual hand resting on his and was told by Shaykh Abu al-Wifa' that it was the hand of the Prophet. He had then met Shaykh Ahmad Radwan some 20 years ago, having gone to his place in the village of al-Baghdadi in Luxor Governorate, and was told that he was a descendant of the prophet and was related to Imam Hasan and Imam Husain, grandsons of the Prophet. He began to frequent his place until he died in 1967. He opened his own courtyard and people and visitors and followers began to come to him regularly. He claimed that during these years he had seen the Prophet often and that he had indicated to his visitors that he was related to the family of the Prophet and they would hold discussions with him on religious matters and noble traits.

Two years ago he decided to form the "Hashemite Band" out of love for the Prophet and the Prophet's family after he allegedly had seen them in his bedroom. He was joined by a number of dupes, such as Fu'ad Hathith, Shaykh

Ahmad Abu al-Hasan, Dr Muhammad Munaysir, Fu'ad al-Khatib, Muhammad Ahmad al-Hawari, Muhammad al-'Idarus and Abu al-Majid Hamad 'Ammar. Other persons also began to enter the organization and it came to have branches in some areas such as Jarda, the eastern region, al-Mu'adi and Aswan.

Some of his friends warned him against claiming that he was a descendant of the Prophet lest he be called the expected mahdi. He claimed that he could not conceal his relationship because he was a descendant of the Prophet: from father to grandfather. With regard to the idea of the awaited mahdi, he said that he rejected this because he did not know whether or not an expected mahdi would appear on earth and that he was not associated with any miracles except for his "visions" of the Prophet. He stated that he had stayed in his seclusion for 12 years, not meeting with anyone, following the death of Shaykh Ahmad Radwan, and had emerged from it in 1979. He claimed that the Prophet had told him: "Treat your spirit and your soul in our seclusion and stay away from people until we order you to emerge."

He in fact stayed away from people for a time and then claimed that the order came in 1979 at which time he emerged from his seclusion to call upon people to join the organization.

The head of the organization added that it could be joined without conditions or stipulations and that anyone could come into it on the condition that this was "out of love for God and his Prophet." This organization was not legally registered but it had supporters and adherents meeting at the leader's place. Some names that have been learned are as follows:

In Cairo--Muhammad Munir and Mamduh.

In al-Sharqiyah--Muhammad Ahmad al-Hawari and Muhammad al-'Idarus.

In Naja' Hamadi--Muhammad Amin 'Abd-al-Rahim, Dr Salah al-Sa'adni and Fu'ad Hathith from Kom Ombo.

They would come to Cairo on certain occasions, such as birth anniversaries, etc.; otherwise, their meetings were limited.

He added that he used to receive some amounts of cash from his adherents but denied that this was to finance the "band" but rather were gifts for his home and hospitality. He also used to treat some of his adherents who had simple illnesses with elementary symptoms and they would get well.

The prosecutor's office ordered that the head of the organization be held for investigation since he was charged with establishing an illegal secret organization to oppose the basic tenets of the state and the office will interrogate him about the CID report and also the testimony of some members of the band that they had formed an organization called the Hashemite Band with an ideology based on the fact that a person from the town of al-Muhamid in the district of Idfu in Aswan, a person named Muhammad Abu al-Futtuh al-'Arabi, claimed that he was the imam of this era. It also covers the fact that the ideas of the organization are based on the fact that given the

presence of this "imam," one should not think but take matters only as he has explained them and that since God created the universe, he has not put it in order, having finished his task with the creations of the heavens and the earth, leaving the job of disposing of things on earth to the prophets and then to their companions and then to the holy men of God. It was stated that the members of the band had held regular, secret meetings in an apartment in al-Mu'adi across from the clinic of a doctor at Dar al-Salam General Hospital, a member of the organization.

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CSO: 4504/450

BRIEFS

SINAI WATER STATIONS--The Water Resources Development Institute has decided to set up electronic water monitoring stations in the Sinai. Installations will begin at sites of productive wells in September with 14 stations with surface and underground reservoirs. Dr Hasan Ibrahim, chairman of the institute, stated that in view of the importance of the al-'Arish area, there had been an inventory of all existing wells there, 150 out of a total of 400 wells in the Sinai, and that electronic gauges are to be installed on each productive well to measure the amounts of water produced in order to draft an ideal water use policy. [Text] [Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 28 Jul 82 p 8] 8389

PARTY HOUSING ASSOCIATIONS BARRED--The board of directors of the Housing Cooperative Federation has decided to ban licenses to establish or found a cooperative association for the members of any political party since the establishment of associations on partisan bases would conflict with the provisions of the law. The Nationalist Party had asked that steps be taken to announce a cooperative housing association which it had established in al-Manufiyah. The board also decided not to approve having the bylaws of the association include permission to open the doors of membership to all citizens but rather to confine this to the group for which the association was established. The cooperative association for construction and housing for workers in educational services in al-Gizah had asked that persons not working in this sector be accepted in the association. [Text] [Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 30 Jul 82 p 1] 8389

POLICE FOR MARKET CONTROL--Hasan Abu Basha, Minister of the Interior, has decided to establish centralized machinery in the ministry to monitor prices, under Maj Gen Muhi al-Jarwani, and to establish subordinate agencies in each security directorate under an officer of the rank of colonel. He has decided that the deputy commissioner in each station or district should head the monitoring machinery in the station's jurisdiction. In his meeting yesterday with the police leadership, the minister urged that an urgent plan be drafted to cope with the rise in prices and costs of services provided to the populace and to impose supervision over shops of the public sector, cooperative societies and stores of the private sector. The minister stressed the necessity of firmly dealing with any attempts at exploitation which some persons may try and of imposing controls over all links in the commodity trade from the producer to the consumer. [Text] [Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 30 Jul 82 p 1] 8389

ROYAL FAMILY--While Egypt was celebrating the 30th anniversary of the success of its revolution and the stability of its principles, values and legitimacy, Ahmad Fu'ad, the last king of Egypt, was looking for a way to remind the world of him and his dreams of returning to the throne. He gave a long interview to the French magazine, VUE, and along with this, it published the first official picture of the royal family, including him, his wife, his son, Muhammad 'Ali, and his newborn daughter, Fawziyah Latifah, who was born recently at Princess Grace Hospital in Monaco as he was not interested in having her born in Cairo like her brother. When he was born, Egypt from the humanitarian standpoint was not the motivation of his father, rather he was anxious for the boy to get Egyptian citizenship by birth so that he could rightfully be the crown prince. The magazine took the opportunity to publish some historical information and pictures of the former ruling family of Egypt, playing up a picture of the three wives and daughters of the Khedive Isma'il. [Text] [Cairo UKTUBAR in Arabic No 301, 1 Aug 82 p 1] 8389

UNIVERSITY WOMEN TRANSFERRED--Dr al-Tayyib al-Najjar, head of the University of al-Azhar, issued a decision to transfer all female employees in the administration of the University of al-Azhar and its colleges to work in the Girls College and the university city for girl students. [Text] [Cairo UKTUBAR in Arabic No 301, 1 Aug 82 p 2] 8389

HAYKAL INVESTIGATION DROPPED--The tax prosecutor's office in Egypt has decided to drop the interrogation of Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal after it had been established that he had evaded paying taxes. The tax evasion department had accused Haykal of avoiding payment of taxes due on funds he received while he was chief editor of AL-AHRAM, stating that he had not listed these funds for several years and had submitted forged documents with the help of two directors of AL-AHRAM. However, the prosecutor's office said that the charges were unproven and that the sums of money he had received had been paid to him during a political assignment given to him by President al-Sadat in 1974, an assignment involving public security. [Text] [London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 244, 26 Jul 82 p 13] 8389

TABAH BORDER VIOLATIONS--Lately the Egyptian border violations near Tabah have increased. I have learned that Egyptian police and civilians have been illegally crossing the border to Israel. There was an incident involving an Egyptian liaison officer, a major, who while driving a military jeep, picked up some Egyptian civilian hitchhikers, crossed the border into Israel and then wanted to tour the Tabah area. Another case involved Egyptian police stationed at the border terminal who crossed the border and walked along the beach wearing their police uniforms and carrying their arms. Another incident that occurred a few days ago again involved Egyptian police who crossed the border and stayed by the lifeguards' shack in the Tabah area. The police and the IDF were summoned, and they asked the Egyptians to return to their side of the border. A senior army source confirmed to me that Egypt was carrying out illegal penetrations, saying that the matter was being looked into. [Report by Eytan Haber] [Text] [TA011415 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 1 Sep 82 p 2]

ECONOMIC ISSUES, POLICIES--Cairo, 4 Sep (MENA)--The new minister of economy and foreign trade said today that Egypt's economic issue is one of investment, and the country's big revenue should be invested in establishing a strong industrial and agricultural base. In an interview with the Middle East news agency, Dr Mustafa al-Sa'id added that the open-door economic policy which Egypt has been pursuing for the past 7 years has yielded important achievements, but it should concentrate on increased production of the basic needs of the masses of the people, including food, clothes and housing. He stressed the importance of sound planning to focus on priority projects. He said that the public sector should be streamlined in administration and should be allowed to sell its goods at prices which meet the production costs. He proposed cutting down on imports and tightening the tax collecting system. He stressed the importance of democracy for economic prosperity, so as to assure investors that the law is supreme. [Text] [NC041822 Cairo MENA in English 1800 GMT 4 Sep 82]

MINISTERIAL COMMITTEES FORMED--Prime Minister Dr Fu'ad Muhyi al-Din has issued a decision again forming the ministerial committees in light of the new cabinet formation. These are the higher committee for policies and economic affairs and the committee on the reconstruction of Sinai. Both committees are under engineer Ahmad 'Izz al-Din Hilal, deputy prime minister and petroleum minister. Also reformed are the ministerial committee on services headed by Dr Mustafa Kamal Hilmi, deputy prime minister and education minister, and the ministerial legislative committee under Justice Minister Adviser Ahmad Mamduh 'Atiyyah. [Text] [NC062124 Cairo Domestic Service in Arabic 2000 GMT 6 Sep 82]

CSO: 4500/289

MINISTER DISCUSSES CURRENT OUTPUT OF OIL REFINERIES

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 25 Jul 82 p 3

[Interview with Minister of Petroleum Seyyed Mohammad Gharazi]

[Text] Bakhtaran - Minister of Petroleum Engineer Seyyed Mohammad Gharazi, who had taken a trip to Bakhtaran Province, gave an interview to IRNA in Bakhtaran as he was about to leave. He announced that what steps should be taken to renew operation of the oil wells in the Naftshahr region had been examined during the trip.

During the interview Engineer Gharazi said: Before the imposed war, this region's level of oil production was 17 thousand barrels per day, and Iraq was producing oil at the same level in the petroleum territory around Naft-Khaneh.

Engineer Gharazi added: Through the implementation of a huge project, oil from Khorramabad will be transferred to Bakhtaran's oil refinery.

He said: The project is planned to end in September. As he continued his speech, the minister of petroleum added: An arrangement has been made to store one and a half months of Bakhtaran region's oil consumption in this province so that problems do not come up during the winter. As to the oil transportation system, we will try to use a pipeline instead of tanker-trucks.

Summoning the people to conserve their consumption of petroleum products, Engineer Gharazi said: Before the imposed war one million barrels of oil were refined each day by using all the country's refineries, including the Abadan refinery. Afterwards this figure fell to 400 thousand barrels a day when the Abadan refinery went out of commission. By expanding our country's other refineries, this figure has now reached about 600 thousand barrels per day. Naturally we still have shortages, and the Muslim people of our country must conserve in order to compensate for these shortages. The minister of petroleum said: There is no shortage from the gas oil angle, and enough gas oil exists for agricultural and transportation use.

Concerning gasoline, Engineer Gharazi said: We can basically meet the demand from coupons held by the people. What I must say is that in foreign countries the price of gasoline and gas oil is 28 to 30 rials per liter. Domestic consumers should know that the government must pay a subsidy of 10 rials for each rial of the purchase price of a liter of gasoline or gas oil.

Concerning foreign radio broadcasts about petroleum, Engineer Gharazi said: Oil price developments are not a new issue. From the time of the Iranian Islamic revolution's victory we have brought the price of each barrel of oil from \$12 to \$31. However, in practice Libyan and Nigerian oil production has declined due to competition, the production situation and the crude oil supply from the Saudi monarchy.

He then pointed to Iran's position in OPEC, and said: We have proved in OPEC that Saudi Arabia cannot create a kingdom in the organization and cannot stand up against other members by high production and low price. We made them accept a stabilization of the production level at 17.5 million barrels per day. The Saudi monarchy must decrease its production of crude oil by 2.5 million barrels per day. However, Zaki Yamani said in answer: We are helping OPEC, but Saudi Arabia cannot decrease or increase its production according to the desires of some members. Iran maintained its firm position in opposition to Saudi Arabia.

The minister of petroleum said in conclusion: Just as we are getting revenge on Saddam in the war arena, we are going to confront the Saudi Arabian monarchy's actions in the petroleum market.

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CSO: 4640/423

MINISTER OUTLINES PLANS FOR CENTERS OF RURAL SERVICES

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 26 Jul 82 p 11

[Interview with Mohammad Salamati, minister of agriculture and rural development]

[Text] Two hundred and fifty Rural and Tribal Centers are being created throughout the country during the current year. The organizational system of the ministry of agriculture and rural development based on the creation of service centers will soon be presented to the cabinet. Agricultural growth during the March 1981 - March 1982 year notably increased in various sectors, including forests and pasture, livestock and fisheries. So far more than 1.1 million hectares of land have been divided among 200 thousand agricultural families.

During an exclusive interview with KEYHAN's correspondent, Mohammad Salamati, minister of agriculture and rural development, described programs and recent progress in various agricultural sectors.

Creation of Rural Service Centers

At first, pointing to the creation of rural service centers, Salamati stated: On the basis of a letter of ratification by the Revolution Council aimed at simplifying assistance to farmers, and promptly committing equipment and tools to them, rural service centers have come into existence in the counties. Each center places several villages under the coverage of its technical services and guidance. The creation of rural service centers on the one hand has caused the elimination of bureaucratic organization, and on the other, ministry of agriculture personnel will be guided to regions that really need them. In addition, farmers can easily profit from the government's technical services and prompt assistance.

The minister of agriculture and rural development said furthermore: "According to the law ratified by the Revolution Council, the ministry of agriculture and rural development is responsible for the creation of rural service centers. To this end, the ministry of agriculture and rural development has organized a five-year plan, according to which about 250 rural and tribal service centers must be created in various points of the country during the current year. We had previously planned the formation of 200 rural service centers, 180 of which have been created so far. The aforementioned centers fortunately possess the desired quality. In these centers there has been unity of action between the

rural service center officials, the centers have cooperated well with the people and the local clergy, and the expansion of each of these rural service centers has been relatively pleasing. We hope that the 250 rural service centers which we plan to create during the current year will be able to offer appropriate services to our dear farmers so that the inherited bureaucracy will gradually undergo modification. We have organized the organizational system of the ministry of agriculture and rural development on the basis of rural service centers, and God willing this plan will soon be presented to the cabinet".

Ministry of Agriculture's 19-fold Policy

Concerning the ministry of agriculture's programs, the minister said: In order to expand the agricultural sector, increase agricultural production, and sever dependencies existing in this area, the ministry of agriculture and rural development has taken steps to clarify policies to expand this economic sector. All the long-term, short-term and mid-term planning will be carried out on the basis of these previously determined policies.

Concerning the approach to planning for the agricultural sector within the framework of the ministry of agriculture's 19-fold policy, he said:

"It is necessary to explain that the 19-element program of the ministry of agriculture and rural development that you have brought up is in reality this very same 19-fold policy for the agricultural sector. On the basis of the aforementioned policies, we compile, prepare and implement long-term, mid-term, short-term and even stop-gap programs. For example, the third article of the 19-fold policy calls for the formation of rural service centers to bring services to villagers.

On the basis of our policy, we prepared a five-year program for the formation of rural service centers, and from March 1981-March 1982 this program gradually went into implementation."

In another part of his speech, concerning the current status of the law ceding agricultural lands, the minister of agriculture and rural development said: "At the present time the land-ceding law is under discussion and examination by a special Majlis commission. Representatives from the ministry of agriculture and rural development are also attending the sessions of this special commission so that they can raise the ministry's points of view. God willing, the law's executive organs, meaning the ministry of agriculture and rural development and the brother representatives that are involved in working to complete this law, will jointly achieve a useful and desirable outcome."

Last Year's Agricultural Situation

Concerning last year's agricultural situation, Salamati said: In light of the war conditions and the economic pressure arising from them, the agricultural sector showed relatively desirable growth last year. Among the positive and hopeful points of the past agricultural year were the increased wheat production and farmers' receptivity to selling their wheat harvest to the government. The increased production of agricultural produce, particularly wheat, took place at

a time when the problem of land ownership has not yet been resolved in many parts of the country, so that some fertile land has remained uncultivated. In light of cotton's importance in creating employment and meeting the needs of the country's fabric industries, actions took place last year in regards to cotton cultivation. The level of cotton production had decreased after the revolution due to various problems, including land ownership and this kind of cultivation's great need for workers. However, the level of the cotton harvest showed a relative increase during the past agricultural year compared with the two years prior to it, and this was due to the efforts of officials. During the past year steps were taken by the ministry of agriculture and rural development to increase per-hectare production (in surface units) and expand agricultural land by means of turning over farming resources such as insecticides, fertilizer, seeds, tractors, etc, and rendering technical assistance and guidance.

On the subject of the level of agricultural production last year, Mohammad Salamati, minister of agriculture and rural development, said: Agricultural expansion during the March 1981-March 1982 year was relatively desirable in various segments, including farming, forests, pastureland, stock-breeding and fisheries. In the farming segment we had noticeable increases during the March 1981-March 1982 year compared with the March 1980-March 1981 year in the areas of wheat, rice, cotton and some other items. Increases were such that more wheat and rice were produced than prior to the revolution. As for cotton, although the area under cultivation was greater than it was during March 1980-March 1981, production did not increase at the same rate due to the appearance of a blight, weather conditions and some other problems. Although on the whole the level of cotton production was up compared to the March 1980-March 1981 year, production per hectare declined. It is necessary to note that the country's cotton production has not yet reached the level of March 1977-March 1978, but during the past two years cotton production has grown in relation to the first year of the revolution.

Revitalization of Forests and Pasturelands

Concerning forests and pasturelands, the minister of agriculture said: Our country possesses vast pasturelands, a great portion of which have been ruined due to a lack of concern, and constant, uncontrolled grazing. Experts doing research in the forest and pasture area have presented differing figures on first-class, mid-grade and ruined pastureland. However, despite the differences in the figures presented, vast pasturelands exist in our country which have been ruined due to lack of attention, concern and capital investment. Based on the views of these experts, if this situation continues first-grade and medium-grade pasturage will have the same fate as the ruined pastures. For this reason, actions to restore damaged pasturage are paralleled by the necessity of preventing the degradation of first-grade pasture by uncontrolled grazing.

As to revitalizing forests and developing pastures, the minister of agriculture added: "We had desirable growth in some instances during March 1981-March 1982 compared to March 1980-March 1981. One of these instances was that during March 1981-March 1982 we put stop-gap plans into effect to revitalize forests. In total, the surface area of cultivated forest has increased several times over the level in March 1980-March 1981."

He added: "Stabilization of moving sand during March 1981-March 1982 has doubled in relation to March 1980-March 1981. The income of the Forests and Pastures Organization from forest utilization during March 1981-March 1982 has doubled what it was during March 1980-March 1981."

As to the fisheries situation during the past year, the minister of agriculture said: "During the past year the level of fishing and fish purchased from fishermen increased noticeably in relation to March 1980-March 1981. During March 1981-March 1982 we were able to offer good resources to the fishermen, and in toto, last year we had a boom in fisheries. This boom will also continue during the current year." Concerning actions taken in the stock-raising area, he said: "Every year we face a great many mortalities in the rural and tribal regions due to a lack of resources and sufficient manpower. During March 1981-March 1982 the ministry of agriculture and rural development carried out effective and valuable actions towards reducing stock mortalities and losses."

He added: "Stock mortalities decreased during March 1981-March 1982 in relation to the previous year through the actions of concerned organizations, stock production in some regions was more desirable than in previous years, and stock-raisers were more satisfied than they were in the past."

Then the minister of agriculture and rural development, pointing to the effects of ceding land in preventing the migration of villagers to the cities, said: By implementing articles A and B of the land-distribution law ratified by the Islamic Revolution Council, more than 1.1 million hectares of uncultivated, fallow and temporary land was divided among more than 200 thousand farming families by the ministry of agriculture and rural development. God willing, this work will continue in order to prevent the migration of villagers from the city to the villages [as written]".

Rice Purchase Plan Continues

Concerning the rice purchase plan, the minister of agriculture said: In my opinion the rice purchase plan can be 100 percent successful. The aforementioned plan can be extremely useful and effective in preventing inflation, having fair distribution, and lessening the influence of middlemen who are never the direct route and only consider their own benefit although it damages the Islamic revolution.

The minister of agriculture and rural development added: The rice plan was not 100 percent successful last year due to the plan's insufficiencies. Insufficiencies came into being because this plan was a new experience for the government, and since it had a very broad volume, it could not be implemented in a very orderly way. In the Mazandaran and Gilan regions problems were more complicated due to special political conditions, and some organs' lack of preparation, and uncoordinated action from beginning to end, caused the rice-purchase plan to not be completely successful.

He added: The problems of purchasing the current year's rice harvest, the ways and means of purchase, and which organs will purchase, will be raised very soon in the Economic Council. It is very probable that solutions to eliminate last year's insufficiencies will be proposed after discussion and study.

RAFSANJANI THREATENS SADDAM, DISCUSSES IMPORTANT ISSUES

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 29 Jul 82 p 2

[Text] Just as you were briefly informed yesterday, Hojjatoleslam va Al-Muslemin Hashemi Rafsanjani, Majlis president and the imam's representative on the Supreme Defense Council, met and spoke yesterday with imam Khomeyni, the leader of the revolution and founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

At the end of the meeting, concerning issues raised in audience with the nation's imam, may be long endure, the Majlis president said: In this meeting, issues about the imposed war, Middle Eastern issues, particularly Israel's aggression against Lebanon, recent developments and general national affairs relating to the Majlis, and economic issues were raised in the presence of His Eminence the imam. He provided guidance.

Concerning world news agency reports that are raising the issue of Algeria's mediation in the imposed war, the imam's representative on the Supreme Defense Council said: Basically the expression "mediation" that is being used these days is a mistaken interpretation. As Musavi, the 'prime minister', was about to leave for Algeria, some news agencies raised this issue, and he explicitly said: We are not going there in connection with the war. It is possible it will be talked about, but it is not as if we were going there for this purpose.

He added: Of course talks took place in Algeria, and the Algerians expressed an interest in being go-betweens. He said frankly: We make no one our go-between. We have spoken our own words from the beginning, and we have announced our conditions many times, which are the unconditional withdrawal of the aggressor, the payment of reparations, trial of the aggressor which is Iraq, the return of Iraqi repatriates, a path to Jerusalem, etc.

The 'prime minister' said: If you want to go to achieve our demands, which are just ones, we have no objection, and this is not restricted to Algeria alone. Previously the Islamic Conference sent a group who have still not completed their work, the United Nations sent Mr Palme two or three times, the Nonaligned Conference dispatched a delegation, and other persons have also come on their own and asked us for permission which we have given. In other words, our approach is to not close the door to negotiation. Our demands are clearly defined. Any one can try to meet one of our demands. We are seeking to realize our demands as soon as possible. We are truly opposed to the war's continuation and we want to war to end soon.

For this very reason, when we saw that these gentlemen who are mediators are not doing anything, we decided to solve the problem ourselves. We determined that the solution is to bring military pressure to bear on Saddam until he surrenders.

The imam's representative then described the general status of the war fronts as very good, and said: We are advancing in exact accordance with a program and on the road we have been following. Our policy from the beginning has been to work by giving a respite and then a warning. After every operation we have carried out we have given a respite and a warning.

After the successful Bait-al-Moqaddas operations we warned that we would enter Iraqi soil, but they did not believe us and imagined we were bullying them. Now we have entered their land and have advanced as far as we wanted to so they would understand the situation is serious. Now we have given them a several-day grace period to notice. If they pay good attention it is better, because with every step forward we take damages and so do the Iraqis. We do not want it to be this way. But if they really do not pay any attention, we will take the next step, and steps after that. Meaning that each step is not fixed such that we say how far will we go and then stop. We will go as far as necessary to get our demands. If they meet our demands right here, we will go back. It is possible they will not meet our demands and they must be gotten in Baghdad. Then we will go to Baghdad. In any case, it is a right that must be gotten and cannot be waived. Even if we forgave them the nation would not. The later Saddam meets our demands, the longer his list of debts grows.

Supreme Defense Council Session

The Supreme Defense Council met yesterday evening, chaired by Hojjatoleslam va Al-Muslemin Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, president, and attended by Hashemi Rafsanjani, Majlis president and imam's representative on the Supreme Defense Council, Eng. Musavi, prime minister, Gen Zahirnezhad, chief of the Army Joint Staff of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Col Salimi, minister of defense, Shamkhani, acting chief of the Islamic Revolution Guards, Dr Velayati, minister of foreign affairs, and Dr Kharazi, chief of the War Propaganda Staff.

At the end of this meeting, Hashemi Rafsanjani, imam's representative on the Supreme Defense Council, gave an interview to JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI NEWS AGENCY concerning issues raised in the session, and said:

At the beginning Gen Zahirnezhad and Mr Shamkhani gave a report about the current status of the fronts and the future programs. Then military purchases were discussed, and in this connection the commanders of the Navy and Air Force were present. He said: Legal experts on the Algerian declaration were present at last night's meeting. There was discussion about agreements that we had in relation to several important naval items, and decisions were made. There was also discussion of anti-aircraft weapons and the Air Force's future programs inside Iraqi territory.

Imperialist Media Propaganda

Concerning the propaganda of imperialist mass media, Rafsanjani said: The Westerners have remained puzzled by our method of action. For a while they made propaganda that we were the aggressor and have entered Iraq. They frightened the Persian Gulf countries, Jordan and Israel. Now they are claiming that we have returned to our own borders. They want to make us talk by this technique. We think that our actions speak louder than words. We have programs and we are acting according to them. We say as much as the people know. Those who want to know more must adopt patience.

He said: We are acting according to the planning we did in regards to entering Iraqi soil. We advanced as far as we wanted to, and we remained where we wanted to remain. That portion of Iraqi forces we intended to destroy, we destroyed. We are following a program of destroying Iraqi forces. The Majlis president said: We do not announce further steps, but we do stress that we will not stop until realizing our righteous demands. It might be possible to suffice with less than Baghdad and get our rights, but we might need to advance even farther than that. He said: The West cannot predict our actions. We will do our own work, and in this connection we took possession of that portion of Iraqi soil that was necessary.

Iraqi Regime's Current Situation

Concerning the current situation of Iraq's Ba'thist regime, Hashemi Rafsanjani said: The Ba'th government is totally unstable, and the hour-glass of its life is in our hands. It is we who are making decisions in light of the regional situation, the interests of the Islamic republic, and the region's people. So far no one knows whether we will go to Basra or not. So far we have not said where we will go. Baghdad does not know either, and in general the Ba'thists do not know their own future. They are only counting days and awaiting events, but not surrendering to the truth.

The imam's representative on the Supreme Defense Council said: If they surrender as soon as possible, and give us our righteous rights, then the Iraqi government's list of debts will be less, and Saddam's punishment will be lighter. But otherwise, as the time grows longer, their punishment will be greater and their debts will increase.

Future Programs

Concerning the military and political strategy of the Islamic republic in the future, Hashemi Rafsanjani said: In every operation we give the enemy a grace period and a warning so they can judge their own status. The Ramadan operation was a warning. They were thinking that we would not enter Iraqi soil, but we did. Now they might think that we will fail to advance, but we are saying that we will advance. If our demands are not met, we give ourselves the right to go wherever necessary. In this connection our operational approach is to stay out of cities and not interfere with the Iraqi people, and not pound the cities. However we will take possession of their vital centers, and act to destroy their forces, both of which are elements of our programs.

Pointing to the fact that Baghdad is not a safe place, Hashemi said: When Saddam's people bombed our cities, we saw it was necessary to have an operation in Baghdad, so that the world's people and the Ba'thists in particular would understand that Baghdad is in our operational territory. If they repeat their past crimes, we will show them a stronger masterstroke. In any case, Baghdad is not a safe place.

Answer to Saddam's Claims

The JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI NEWS AGENCY correspondent asked: Saddam has said that if his regime gets in a tight spot, he will use a determinative weapon against the Islamic Republic of Iran. Is the weapon referred to anything but the bombing of residential areas and the killing of defenseless people? The Majlis president answered: As far as we know Saddam's weapon is the same old killing and bombing of residential areas. However, due to his close relations with the superpowers he might use a more complicated weapon. However, as it has been observed, no weapon in the world exists which could be put at Saddam's disposal which would deflect Iran from its path.

Western Press's Yellow Journalism

JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI NEWS AGENCY asked a question concerning the fact that Western sources and press, following the beginning of Islam's soldiers' operations outside the border, have tried to intimate to the world and to the people of the region in particular that the victory of Islam's warriors is a danger for the region's countries, and that this problem will not end with Saddam's fall. The imam's representative on the Supreme Defense Council responded: In the statements of the imam and officials of the Islamic republic, the assurance has been given that the victory of Islam's soldiers will not be a threat to the region's countries. We are not attacking the little countries, and if Iraq had not attacked us, we would not have attacked it. We are now in a defensive state, and afterwards we will demand our righteous rights.

He said: If the small countries pull themselves out of this arena, their past is pardonable in our view. Certainly with Saddam's fall there will be one less extortioner in the region so that they can live more comfortably. We have no expectations of them.

Western Authorities Express Anxiety

In response to another question by JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI NEWS AGENCY's correspondent concerning Western authorities unlimited support for Saddam and their expression of anxiety over his fall, and their haste and roughness in relation to the Islamic Republic of Iran, Hashemi said: Western countries have a great many interests in Iraq, and they are thinking that they will have a very obscure future if Iraq's Ba'thist regime is defeated. From another angle, the Islamic Republic of Iran will gain such importance in the region upon final victory that their influence will be lessened. They interpret the Islamic revolution as a serious annoyance for themselves. They are now supporting their interests, just as they are also supporting Israel.

JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI NEWS AGENCY's reporter also asked: The leaders of the non-aligned countries doubt that their conference will be held in Baghdad as indicated by various confidential reports and private statements, and by the fact they have been silent in public. Will the Islamic republic present another, stronger reason for the conference not being held in Baghdad other than the liberation of Khorramshahr, which had a determinative role in this issue, and Iraq's domestic problems? The Majlis president responded: We do not consider Baghdad to be a safe place for the non-aligned conference to be held. Even if it were safe, it would not be advisable for the non-aligned countries because this movement's credibility would decrease.

He said: A conference that would consign its presidency for a three-year period to a criminal like Saddam will have no credibility in the world. Because even if a group of creditable countries that are members of this movement do not participate, they still will be branded as being aligned.

Hashemi said: It seems improbable that this conference will convene in Baghdad. Even if it does convene there it will lack animation, and we will regret the lowered value of the non-aligned countries. Of course we will not take this sitting down for we have programs we will implement.

Defeat of U.S. Maneuvers Plan

The JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI NEWS AGENCY reporter also asked: After the Ramadan operation, the United States tried to carry out joint maneuvers in the region but these countries did not give the idea a favorable reception. How will the Islamic Republic of Iran deal with this invitation and the unfavorable reception? Hojjatolislam va Al-Muslemin Hashemi Rafsanjani said: The United States intended to bully us into retreating, but this was not effective. In my opinion, the region's countries learned a lesson from the past operation. Those who have polluted themselves with Saddam to a degree will suffice with that. If they officially carry out joint maneuvers with the United States, that group of people in their own countries who still regard them favorably suddenly will sever their relation.

Algeria's Mediation

Concerning Algeria's mediation, Hashemi told JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI NEWS AGENCY's correspondent: We did not request Algeria's mediation. They wanted to make an effort for peace, which is our desire. From the first day of the war we have accepted every group that stood up to make peace. We determined our rights and so far have not altered them. He said: During my trip 20 months ago Algeria raised this matter. At that time I repeated our conditions for an end to the war: Unconditional withdrawal, payment of reparations, determination of the aggressor, and trial of the aggressor by an international Islamic commission.

Return of Khorramshahr and Abadan Residents

In his last question, the JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI NEWS AGENCY reporter asked: Will we witness the return of Khorramshahr and Abadan's martyr-nourishing people to their cities in the near future? The Majlis president responded: We hope that this will not take place too late, because our goal is to place these two cities outside the range of Iraqi artillery. On that day when these two cities are not under direct Ba'thist fire, the people of these areas can return to their cities.

TABRIZ DEPUTY DISCUSSES DOMESTIC ISSUES AT INTERVIEW

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 24 Jul 82 p 4

[Interview with Tabriz Majlis deputy Milani]

[Text] Tabriz--ETTELA'AT Correspondent--Brother Milani, a deputy of the people of Tabriz in the Majlis, answered questions from ETTELA'AT's correspondent on various political and social matters in an exclusive interview. At the outset he said concerning the role and importance of the Majlis, the Islamic Consultative Assembly, after the position of chief theologian, is the most important and sensitive body that has come into being with the people's revolution. In view of the fact that the majlis was formed by theologians, people with the utmost in religious knowledge, and famous and very active fighters in the course of establishing the Islamic Republic of Iran, it is therefore at a very high level politically and empirically. Especially since in a 2-year period it has made fruitful efforts, efforts which were made under various political conditions, it has been able to gain more political, specialized, and technical experiences. Therefore the more time passes the greater will be the value of the Majlis, and this is very hopeful. Brother Milani added: In view of the bitter and the sweet days the Majlis has put behind it during this period we can appreciate the value of the Majlis more and more. During this period a president and a prime minister have been elected from the Majlis, it has presented many martyrs to the Islamic revolution, and it may be stated in general that during this period the Majlis has been the most important bulwark against the onslaught of the counterrevolution. The above added: In my view the value and esteem of the Majlis was most tangible on the day the brothers got up out of their hospital beds with broken bones and burnt faces and came to the Majlis and preserved a majority in the Majlis on the day when it was necessary. More important than that was the faith and belief of the noble deputies, who attended the Majlis after the explosion with that wholehearted spirit. During this period the Majlis has made decisions and expressed opinions on the most important national issues and it may be said that the best personalities have guided the Islamic revolution. The Majlis has gotten involved in the most difficult matters and has emerged victorious. One of them was the episode of the deviationist line which had taken control of the revolution. The Majlis decisively solved the problem of this line. Another was the phase of being attacked, during which the Majlis lost a lot of its members, but it made a decisive stand and was victorious. In any case, the Majlis operated logically in all of these instances and it is now the most important and sensitive pillar of the Islamic Republic.

The support for this great body is the responsibility of the martyr-fostering people and the great Islamic nation which itself voted for it.

Important Bills Before the Majlis

Concerning this Dr Milani said: The Majlis has enacted important bills so far. For example, recently the policy statement on the Islamic Republic of Iran broadcasting service, which was an important bill, was enacted, or the land bill, which was enacted with the delegation of authority by the Imam. Other bills were also enacted, such as the nationalization of foreign trade and the water bill. The Majlis has also recently created the Ministry of Health and Health Care and although I spoke against that plan it was an important bill because the people are concerned about health and health care.

Creation of a National Intelligence Organization

Concerning the creation of a national intelligence organization the Tabriz Majlis deputy said: Supporters say that if the country's intelligence organizations are in various places, for example with the courts, the revolutionary guards, the sheriffs, and other places, they will all get in step and exchange intelligence with one another in order to obtain more correct intelligence. What I say, however, is that any organ that is formed in the country must have someone in it who answers to the Majlis for its logical and illogical aspects. Therefore, in my view, a ministry is important from this standpoint so that the Majlis can summon the minister and question him. Yet it is necessary to make intelligence uniform throughout the country, except that one must always be very sensitive in judicial and intelligence and other such matters, and because of their delicacy its officials must be held accountable. In connection with this the Majlis and national officials that I see have a precise view of the issue and they will never allow an organ to come into existence that, God forbid, might create problems later and not be answerable to the people.

The Line of the Majlis Is To Protect the Oppressed

In answer to a question about what steps the Majlis is taking for the welfare of the country's oppressed and to restore the health of the Islamic Republic's economy, Brother Milani said: The Majlis is an enactor of legislation. It is the government and the economic council that do planning for the country's economy. Yet a characteristic I have observed in the Majlis is that it is supportive of the oppressed. That is, in the enactment of every bill the Majlis tries to take society's oppressed into consideration. The Majlis also usually takes society's deprived into consideration most of the time in its economic and intellectual processes.

Assassinations by the 'Hypocrites'

Concerning the writhing and thrashing of the counterrevolutionary groups and the assassination of the people's public servants, the Tabriz Majlis deputy said: In my view the Imam's line since some time ago and especially since the revolution has emphatically taken account of the counterrevolutionary organs, which began by martyring Ayatollah Motahari, and then there were other

plots such as the plot against the martyred Ayatollah Rehesti, the plot against Mr Rafsanjani, the respected speaker of the Majlis, and the martyrdom of the late Mofatah, until we come to these recent developments. The recent developments are the worst plot they have hatched against the revolution. In the provinces they are destroying people who are the mainstays of the people thinking they will weaken the Imam's line and on the other hand disrupt the existing momentum in various regions. If we look at the martyrdoms of Hashem-Nezhad and Ayatollahs Madani and Qazi we can see that the dimension of Ayatollah Qazi's martyrdom really brings on events in Tabriz similar to the episode of the Muslim People's fighters. In any case, with these assassinations they are thinking thoughts like this and they are all people who have fallen into deviation from the Islamic revolution. The most important thing about them is that they have not understood the people and the great leader of the revolution. What is clear, however, is that the people will fill the places of all the martyrs through their will, and they have become more alert every time they have lost a martyr and more and more orthodox.

Driving Back the Zionist Iraqi Regime's Aggression

Concerning the Islamic combatants' latest assault to drive back the Zionist Iraqi regime's aggression, Brother Milani said: Our assault is a defensive assault. Our objective is not to take land and expand the country. We are only resisting in order to defend our own existence in a world where all the counterrevolutionary forces of the superpowers and nonsuperpowers and all the corrupt people in the area are united against us. As a nation which has had a revolution and overthrown the monarchy, if we do not do this we will perish.

Iraq occupied our land for 2 years. It demolished our cities during this time, and today when it has left Iranian territory and taken up positions in the mountainous areas as a result of the efforts and martyrdoms of the great Islamic nation and its great leaders, it will not leave us alone and if we do not defend ourselves it will be a power supported by all the bullies in the world and they will make it more corrupt every day. They will protect it as a corrupt power in the area. Every day its artillery and tanks will pulverize the lands into blood and dust and prevent revolutions. We are therefore defending ourselves and calling for the overthrow of Saddam's regime as a duty. In any case, our war is a defensive war.

Alleviating Unemployment

Concerning this problem the Tabriz deputy said: The overall policy of the Majlis is to be supportive of problems such as this and to eliminate unemployment and problems of this nature. For example, when the insurance bill went before the Majlis, the main thing that depended on it was that the small workplaces might operate and be able to obtain manpower. Recently with respect to factories and heavy industries, the Majlis industries commission has done most of the work, and overall it is the policy of the Majlis to protect society's deprived people.

Situation of New Laws in Majlis

Concerning the situation of the new laws in the Majlis, he said: The Majlis is trying to gradually replace the laws from the time of the idolaters with new laws, and this is a job that clearly requires time and cannot be done all at once.

Issues and Problems for the People of Tabriz

In conclusion, brother Milani said concerning the problems and issues of the people of his constituency: In these few days that we have been in Tabriz we have gone to different areas and factories and taken part in the people's gatherings in the mosques. The problems during a revolution are clearly abundant and it is natural for them to be numerous. Strangest of all, however, is the people's tolerance and preparedness to accept problems. In some areas the people had needs with respect to the cooperative companies and they asked officials to take care of these needs. Concerning the economic mobilization, everywhere we went the people had requests and expressed views and sometimes complained, and I hope the problems will be solved. They also had needs in the shantytowns and fringes of the city which they expressed and they really expected officials to deal with their situation.

Regarding Tabriz's factories, we had problems, and I hope these factories will get going with the coming of the new minister, who was an active element in the cabinet, and the situation will get better. In any case, I saw the people as very motivated and ready but the truth is that the people's problems and issues must be taken care of. Among the people's problems he referred to the problems of water and power in Tabriz and added: We have contacted officials in Tehran concerning this and they have long-range plans which they have recently begun, but steps must be taken to solve these problems in the short run. There are also problems connected with the villages of Tabriz which the brothers must see to within a short time.

9310

CSO: 4640/422

DELEGATE RESPONDS TO 'ACCUSATIONS' AT HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 24 Jul 82 p 13

[Text] The CENTRAL NEWS SERVICE, quoting the Islamic Republic of Iran embassy sources in Switzerland, reports that at the meeting of the UN Human Rights commission in Geneva, Switzerland, certain spiteful remarks had been made by delegates from Jordan, Tunisia, Canada and Iraq which had been responded to by the head of the Iranian delegation Hojjat ol-Eslam Seyyed Hadi Khosrowshahi the Iranian ambassador to the Vatican. He addressed the commission meeting yesterday condemning the commission as the loudspeaker of the enemies of the Islamic revolution.

In his hour-long speech, Hojjat ol-Eslam Khosrowshahi said: "the Islamic Republic of Iran delegation is thankful for the opportunity it has been given to make certain facts known. It is unfortunate that certain delegates have, without presenting any evidence acceptable by the Human Rights Commission, spitefully and even out of enmity, leveled unfounded accusations and lies of the imperialist circles against the independent and free Islamic Republic of Iran. Whereas the commission had, in its eleventh general session, spelled out, in a declaration, its responsibilities within the framework of the charter, the Islamic Republic of Iran delegation regrets violation of these responsibilities by a number of delegates and frankly declares that such actions harm the Human Rights Commission's credibility in the eyes of the oppressed nations of the world and make its impartiality rather questionable.

"We are participating in these meetings out of our respect for human rights. But unfortunately the approach of certain member nations had been unreasonable and irritating which once again make our nation to have doubts about the goodwill and any other Western phenomenon even if it is called human rights.

"Mr Sa'di of Jordan and a few others have immediately submitted a totally false and imaginary claim in order to be able to win the first prize. It reminds us of the indictments issued by SAVAK and the military prosecutor during the Shah's regime against the Islamic revolutionaries. Such an unethical approach, which could not be constructive in anyway, revives the painful memories of the time when the well-known sister of the Shah known as Ashraf Pahlavi, dressed in her expensive fur coat, was participating in the commission's meetings talking about human rights. This was the time that our people were living under one of the most barbaric regimes and the suppression of the Shah. Yet, none of these delegates did said a thing. But now, when the representative of a revolutionary

people that is ready for any sacrifice in order to preserve the heritage of its Islamic revolution attends, the Jordanian delegate turns the commission's meeting into a military court of interrogation. He does not know that if there should be an international court it must be convened to try those who massacred 20,000 Palestinians during the Black September and escaped punishment. We have not and will never forget this."

Jordanian and Tunisian Delegates Questioned

Continuing his speech, Hojjat ol-Eslam Khosrowshahi said: "our people made the revolution in accordance with the Islamic principles and not those of "Human Rights". Had our people waited for the United Nations more than 40,000 American advisers would be still controlling and ruling us. In his prepared speech, the Jordanian delegate talked in such a way as if the Shah's regime was questioning us. We do not intend to ask why Jordan send forces to Iraq to fight in its war against the Islamic revolution of Iran for we were able to face them in the fronts and we did. But I would like to ask the Jordanian and Tunisian delegates why their volunteers were not dispatched to Lebanon to defend that country against the Israeli aggression. To all the gentlemen present in this tribune of allegations by our enemies, and to all those who would like to suppress our great revolution, we firmly declare that our people have determined to remain free and would not pay attention to the fables created by imperialistic circles. They have experienced imperialist domination for half a century and have gained their freedom and their independent Islamic Republic at the price of 70,000 martyrs and 50 years of captivity under the Pahlavi regime and are not going to give up as easily as the enemy might have thought. If the defenders of the human rights once, and I repeat once, after the revolution had condemned the cowardly terror of women, men, children, the young, the clergy, the academicians, the workers and the peasants, and if they had once condemned the 22 months bombing of the civilian targets by the Iraqi Ba'thists they could perhaps be justified to ask us today how many people we are holding prisoners and how many criminals and executioners of the former regime and SAVAK torturers and terrorists had been put to death. What gives you the right and by what logic and under which principle and for what reasons do you now question us. Where were you on black Friday when the Shah's army massacred 3,000 people in Tehran. What was your record during that black period.

"A nation which gave 70,000 martyrs at the end of the Shah's regime would have created a blood bath in the country had it wanted to take revenge. It was due to Islamic compassion and the Imam's clemency that our nation refrained from taking revenge. But our nation could not reward the Shah's executioners and SAVAK torturers with medals of honor. Let them get that from the American imperialists and their European colleagues....."

Continuing his speech, Hojjat ol-Eslam Khosrowshahi said: "Mr President, esteemed members of the Human Rights Commission. I would like once again to repeat that the unfounded accusations leveled at us here by certain members of the commission are meaningless under the standards of the commission itself and their repetition is indicative of the continued conspiracies against the Islamic revolution of our people on an international level. If not, how could an informed and impartial individual sit in judgement on the basis of propaganda material

put out by the imperialist media and communiques issued by anti-revolutionary elements composed of members of the capitalists, plunderers, criminals and executioners of the Shah's regime and terrorist organizations and mercenaries and servants of imperialism. In our opinion, the spreading of lies and accusations of the anti-nation elements living outside the country through the Human Rights Commission is one the most cruel and unethical methods of implementation of the policy of terror on the part of American imperialism, Zionism and reactionary Arab nations aimed at discrediting our Islamic revolution.

"If such an organized conspiracy did not exist then why and for what reason an accusation is, for example, repeated over and over by some 5,000 people and no one talks about the number of people killed by the terrorists (in Iran). Is the human right reserved for those who have risen against the Islamic Republic of Iran?"

Issue of Bahais

According to the report, the head of the Iranian delegation further said that on the top of accusations leveled against Iran by some delegates and repeated by the five committee members had been the issue of the Bahais which had been viewed by our nation from an entirely different angle.

The Bahais are said to have claimed that 60 to 70 of their members have been executed. At the same time, they claim that there are between 60,000 to 7,000 Bahais in Iran. Therefore, they should be asked why the rest have not been executed? Those 60 or 70 people were executed because of their religious belief? Were these only 60 or 70 Bahais in Iran? No. During the black period of the Shah's regime the Bahais, who claim they are not involved in politics, along with international Zionism, had closely cooperated with the regime in the suppression of the people.

Records left behind by SAVAK, the Palace, and other confidential records all point to the fact that Bahai leaders were among the main officials of the Shah's regime. Criminals such as General Ayadi, General Khademi, Abbas Hoveyda, Mansur Rohani, Farrokhru Parsa, Parviz Sabeti and tens of others were among important officials of the Shah and all were leaders of the Bahais. The relations between them were so close that the Bahais, according to their records, had bestowed upon the Shah the title of the Great Liberator of Iran.

According to other SAVAK records Bahais received the army reports about the arrival of weapons in Iran and Paratroop training from the army and, according to SAVAK document number 10, these were passed on to Israel which was using the Bahais for political and economic intelligence gathering.

According to the SAVAK document number 11, the Bahais had collected a sum of 120 million tumans and sent to Haifa to be used by the Israeli army in their conflict with the Arabs. That is the reason behind Abdul Nasser calling them the spies of Israel.

The support of Israel by providing it with oil prompted Israel to donate Hoveyda a big piece of land in Israel the report of which by the SAVAK to the Shah is

now in Hoveyda's file. Thus, the Bahais, who acted as the spies of Israel, bear responsibility in the massacre of the people during the Shah's regime, or like Hoveyda, were leading the operation and were executed like other criminals who happened to be Muslims and this had nothing to do with their religious belief.

Continuing his speech, the head of the Iranian delegation told the commission that he had told the meeting earlier that Iran did not accept any human right that conflicted with the Divine right. In answer to the Iraqi delegation concerning Saddam's unilateral ceasefire, he said that Iraq wanted a cease-fire why had it started its aggression the first place. If we reward the aggressor, he said, we would find ourselves victim of another aggression the next day. Hitler also asked for a cease-fire when he had faced defeat. War criminals must be tried at an international tribunal and forced to pay Iran 150 billion dollars in reparations. We will not permit the aggressor the opportunity to renew its strength. If your human right demands that you leave the aggressor alone it is your business. Our nation will follow its own path.

Answering the statement by the delegate from Tunisia who had wondered why the two Islamic nations should be at war with each other, Khosrowshahi asked why Tunisia had not said the same thing at the start of the Iraqi aggression against Iran and was making the statement now that Iraq is on the verge of defeat.

You tell us let us all fight against Israel. Could you tell us whether Iraq has fired even one shot against Israel in these past 15 years?

We declare to you that Iraq has wrecked havoc on our cities by its 11-meter long missiles and massacred tens of thousands of our innocent civilians. If Iraq was not in with Israel it would have defended itself against the Israeli air attack on its atomic center. We did not hear of any Iraqi counterattack.

9561

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OPPOSITION PAPER EDITOR SENDS CABLE TO KHOMEYNI

London E'DAM in Persian 2 Jul 82 p 3

[Telegram by 'Ali Baba'i]

[Text] Your Honor Khomeyni:

Why have you pillaged every national thing for a few days of government, why have you come down in this way on the head of a man loved by society? He is sick and suffering.

Have connections with SAVAK and the shah now become bad? Montazeri, Your Honor's deputy, told me and the late Taleqani: I immediately hid SAVAK's Qom files because half of Qon's clerics were connected with SAVAK... Do not do this, it does not please God. Why do you recognize no limit to enmity? Were you on the take from SAVAK at that time when 'Ali Asghar Haj Seyyed Javadi wrote to you and everyone that a document had fallen into his hands that a member of the Revolution Council took 12 million from Mir Ashrafi, and another document that a Revolution Council member had a monthly stipend of 2,000 tumans from Hoveida's secret budget, and you took no action? Khalkhali told me and four or five other persons that it was not 12 million. It was 2 million, and 800,000 tumans of it came to the Qom cleric from Azarbaijan. Why did you not act on these matters? Everyone knows that I have not liked Shari'atmadari for years. Everyone knows that I was struggling against the court and SAVAK when you were still saying prayers for the continuation of the monarchy's head. However, it is not proper for a temporal government without credence to rip apart the fabric of society's beliefs. Perhaps this ill-starred society will have a tomorrow, but what will you have left behind for the people and the country? Everything has turned out a lie, you have made a blood-enemy of everyone, you have set families at each other's throats. Now everyone is shaken and lacks confidence, everyone is torn apart, stunned, spiritually distressed. Now you bring the last and most fragile national religious beliefs to this dangerous stage? Did you yourself not say: The clergy means Islam, and Islam means the clergy?

So now why have you chosen this approach to the clergy? Why are you auctioning off a nation's entire capital for its existence and survival? The nation has finally been drawn to emptiness and ruination. May your reputation long endure, all that splendour, greatness, purity and loyalty. I have never spoken to you like this before, but I could bear it no longer.

My reward for 30 years of struggle has been to leave my home and family, parts of myself, my children and my homeland for which I had such hopes because I fear that after my execution your base and barbaric stooges will not even bury my corpse in an infidel's cemetery. I have had no resort but to wander in the deserts, in sickness and exile and poverty, and rely on the alms of the church and the support of strangers.

Despite those positions I had in the revolution, and the services and wealth I contributed for its preparation, I now count the days until my shrivelled body soon falls into infection out of loneliness and lack of news in this foreign land.

Now I know that you will get revenge on me through my oppressed, sick, homeless wife and child whose hours pass like days, while a great many of your current apostles and worshippers have been showered with blessings.

It does not matter, you have rewarded everyone this way...Lo and behold, I see that the great building is quickly crumbling, the last bonds linking a nation are breaking apart. The people's religious sentiments and beliefs are drawing towards worthlessness, ruination and extinction. It is not a minor matter that you show the position of religious authority to be a baseless lie, a position which you attributed to yourselves with the hidden sanction and special favor of the Hidden Imam, may god hasten his deliverance... What have you left for the people?

Nothing good can come of debasing and disgracing a suffering 85-year old respected cleric loved by a great strata of society, by framing him with the United States, the court, SAVAK and anything else that comes to your tongue...

One man prunes, but you uproot...Ruining someone's reputation has never ensured another's. Lack of confidence, weakness, and shaky belief continually demand a new victim. 26 April 1982, Ahmad 'Ali Baba'i

9597

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COMMANDER CLAIMS AIR FORCE COULD 'LEVEL BAGHDAD TO GROUND'

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 26 Jul 82 p 2

[Interview with Air Force Commander Mo'eynipur]

[Text] CITY-REGION [Shahrestar] SERVICE - In an exclusive interview with JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI's CITY-REGION SERVICE correspondent, Col Mo'eynipur, commander of the Air Force, answered questions about Saddam's aggressor airplane attacks : on residential points in Iran, the role of the Air Force in the Ramadan operations, and other issues. Details of the interview are found below:

Question: The Zionists are currently attacking Lebanese cities and public places every day, and slaughtering Lebanon's defenseless people. Following the recent victories of Islam's warriors, we have continually witnessed Saddam's aggressor airplanes attacking our border cities, and massacring our innocent people. How do you as Air Force commander evaluate these matters?

Answer: In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. Iraq's Air Force was badly defeated on the scene of the Fath-al-Mobin and Beit-al-Moqaddas operations in confrontations with the Air Force of the Islamic Republic of Iran and its sacrificing and heroic pilots and anti-aircraft personnel. As a result we have seen that they lost more than 90 aircraft in the two operations mentioned, and following the beginning of the Ramadan operations they have avoided battle with the Islamic Republic of Iran's pilots and anti-aircraft personnel. This is because its air force cannot stand up to our brave fighters, and make cowardly, insane attacks on the innocent, refugeless people. Like thieves, they make use of the country's particular natural configuration in low-level flights, and drop bombs without targeting on the residential districts of the cities. It does not make any difference to them what points of the city their bombs strike, because any place they hit will for certain produce damage and casualties. These mercenary Iraqi pilots are a disgrace to pilots. Compare them with the Muslim pilots of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Suppose the Iranian pilots want to destroy a bridge. If an automobile should be crossing the bridge, they will endanger their lives and wait until the car has passed over the bridge and then destroy the bridge. We have many examples of this. Of course, this is the difference between Islam and blasphemy. In addition to airplane attacks, the enemy attacks cities and residential areas with the long-range missiles they possess. However, the recent operations by the brave pilots of the Iranian Air Force that took place several days ago showed once again the air superiority

of the Islamic republic's Air Force in this war. This is because we proved to Iraq's Ba'thist, mercenary, infidel government that we can go as far as Baghdad and bomb Iraq's Al-Daurah refinery despite Iraq's extremely powerful anti-aircraft weapons which are possibly unrivalled in the Middle East, even in Asia. Yet bombing Iraq's cities and villages would be much simpler and easier, but Islamic morality does not permit such a thing!

The Air Force is making the maximum use of its resources and equipment to repel Iraq's air attacks. Despite problems such as the economic encirclement and the spare parts shortage, the Air Force has carried out activities by relying on blessed, almighty God, Mohammad, his daughter and the 12 imams, and by the round-the-clock work of all Air Force personnel. Just as we have observed throughout the war, our Air Force has continually possessed complete air superiority. From another angle, Iraq's air force is being continually supported and equipped by the world of blasphemy and atheism, such that Iraq's air force today is more equipped than it was last year or even at the beginning of the imposed war. However, if the infidel Ba'thist enemy commits such cowardly, mercenary crimes, comparable action will be extremely simple and easy. Iraq's populated areas (except Najaf, Karbala, Kazemin, Samara, Kufah and other blessed, religious locations), even Baghdad, could be flattened to the ground. However, what can we do since Islam and the great imam do not give such permission, and should not give it.

Question: What role did the Air Force perform in the Ramadan operations?

Answer: Air Force activities in the recent operations were supporting ground forces and providing air cover. However, as was pointed out before, the enemy is avoiding confrontation and dog-fights with the Air Force of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and is running away. Then they make cowardly and mercenary attacks on cities, populated areas, and refugeless, innocent people.

Question: It is said that your successor was martyred in the recent attacks on Baghdad. How do you explain the truth or falseness of this matter?

Answer: Before anything else I must say that even supposing such a rumor were true, it must be said that it is one of the glories of Islam's army that soldiers, non-commissioned officers, Homafars, officers and commanders fight hand-in-hand on the war front against evil, and are martyred. However, here I must say that in the recent attack on the Al-Daurah refinery, Col Pilot 'Abbas Dawran, successor to the operations deputy of one Air Force base, attained martyrdom. He was not my deputy. Yet it is essential to mention several points about him:

A. Before carrying out the mission, he stressed several times to the group of pilots on the Al-Daurah refinery mission: "Try to hit only the refinery. God forbid that a bomb should fall amid the innocent people of Baghdad. Use precision so that bombs do not strike Baghdad's residential areas and innocent people are not killed".

B. Dawran had said many times before this mission: "I will never be the enemy's prisoner. If I am to become a prisoner, I will not leave the airplane". This Muslim, heroic, sacrificing pilot had carried out more than 100 missions across

the border inside Iraqi territory during the course of the imposed war. When his airplane was struck by the enemy's bullets and caught on fire, he had the chance to use his parachute. However, because he believed in the words he had spoken, and could in no way tolerate the enemies of the Islamic republic, he guided his crashing airplane onto one of Iraq's military-economic facilities, and was martyred. May his soul be joyful! Fortunately all of the pilots in the Air Force of the Islamic Republic of Iran possess such unrivalled morale, and are completely prepared to carry out any mission (no matter how dangerous) outside the borders with all their heart and soul.

9597

CSO: 4640/425

SUCCESS OF ARMY MINE-CLEARING OPERATIONS REPORTED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 31 July 82 p 14

[Text] The KEYHAN correspondent reported from Bakhtaran that tens of intrenchments and armored vehicles of the Saddam army were destroyed in the Sumar front and that the fighting continues to eliminate the remaining positions and armor of the Ba'thist enemy.

The KEYHAN correspondent says that in the past 2 days heavy fighting took place in Western battlefronts with heavy artillery exchanges between Iranian fighters and Ba'thist aggressor forces. In the past 24 hours there have been more reports of severe fighting in the Meymak and Sumar battlefronts than in other sectors, with Islamic warriors blunting the military capability of the Iraqi Ba'thist army by their superior artillery firepower in the Bavisi and Tang-e Hammam area and depriving them of any capability for movement or advance. The same report which has been confirmed by the country's advanced Western positions says the greatly capable artillery and mortar launchers of Islam continue to concentrate their heavy fire on mercenary Ba'thist positions and fortifications while in Iraq's Yaveh and Panjveyn sectors, Iraqi border areas and military fortifications are under the effective strikes of Iranian Muslim forces, which have inflicted considerable damage and destruction on the Ba'thist mercenaries.

Another KEYHAN report, quoting advanced positions in the West, says that in other fighting between the forces of Islam and blasphemous Saddamist forces on other Western sectors, victories continue to be gained by the fighters of Islam, with the forces of the Iranian Islamic Republic holding the initiative on all fronts. Also according to this report, parallel with the continuous victories of the warriors of Islam, work has continued throughout the Western front in clearing land mines set by the Ba'thist mercenaries. In the past 24 hours 5,000 more mines were found and defused by death-defying Iranian forces, bringing the total of land mines cleared by the braves of Islam to 155,000.

According to another dispatch, the other day 3 more members of the disbanded KDP and the Komeleh (the names of 2 of them were Vosuqi and Hoseyn Mahmudi) returned to Iran as the best possible thing to do and presented themselves to the Islamic guards corps at Baneh. The same dispatch adds that in the same area yesterday 11 more Iraqi Muslims who had come to realize the despicable

and self-destructive character of Saddam also presented themselves to the corps at Baneh and were welcomed by brother guards.

A dispatch from Ilam also reports that at 10:10 Thursday an intruding Iraqi plane flew over the resistant and martyr-creating city of Ilam but was driven off by the city's anti-air defense before it could act.

Joint Headquarter's 1000th Advisory

The 1,000th advisory of the joint headquarters of the Islamic Republic of Iran issued yesterday read: In the name of the Almighty. Heroic and fighting Muslim people of Iran! The death-defying braves of Islam continue to fight the Iraqi Ba'thist mercenaries in determined and firm fashion and, in safeguarding the revolution and the Islamic fatherland, are achieving valuable victories by relying on the munificence of the Almighty and the Iranian Muslim community's unity and generous giving.

In operations carried out last night and today, our brave and heroic fighters, with the weapon of faith and under the banner of "There is no other God but Allah", continued the "Ramadan" offensive in allout and unprecedentedly brave fashion, destroying a vast portion of the enemy's forces on Iraqi territory and bringing the forces of blasphemy to their knees on most battlefronts, thereby depriving the mercenaries of Saddam of will and energy. The full report of these operations have been brought to the attention of our dear compatriots by communiques of the joint headquarters. The results of the actions of the death-defiers of the battlefronts for justice and truth arrayed against the mercenaries of the blasphemous and oppressive regime in the West of the country are hereby brought to attention:

In the past 24 hours, clashes in the form of exchange of fire took place on Western battlefronts. The exchange of fire at Meymak and Mehran heights was heavier than elsewhere. Our superior firepower on these fronts prevented enemy activity and movement. A number of Ba'thist mercenaries were killed. In the Paveh front our fighters maintained the initiative by using heavy artillery fire and retaining their superiority. They carried out defensive action in positions concerned. Exchanges of fire continued in the Marivan sector and as a result of our shelling of enemy positions in the Valiyaveh, Tutman and Panjveyn sectors, considerable damage was inflicted upon enemy intrenchments and a number of Saddamists were killed and wounded.

Yesterday Abadan came under heavy fire from the enemy's heavy and long-range guns. As a result 3 persons were wounded and a number of houses were destroyed.

In the past 24 hours the Islamic Republic of Iran's air defense, alert and acting on time, repulsed all enemy air violations in the southern and western battlements, driving off the planes.

Latest News from the West

Enemy positions and fortifications at 343 heights of Qal'eh-ye Avizan and the Qal'eh-ye Sharafi post in the Mehran sector came under heavy fire of the forces of Islam. As a result a number of Ba'thist aggressors were killed and 6 intrenchments and a vehicle of the enemy was set ablaze.

According to reports received, yesterday the enemy in a lunatic fashion subjected the destroyed town of Mehran to its heavy and long-range artillery shelling, thereby causing a fire in the town park where there are numerous palms. According to the report, fighters of Islam immediately brought the fire under control.

According to other dispatches, yesterday the air space of the cities of Khorramabad and Ilam were violated by the planes of the Ba'thist criminal regime but air defense action in the sector prevented their activity.

During a conversation, the commander of the 81st Armored Division also gave the latest information received concerning various battlefronts. He said: Since the 28 June fleeing of the Saddamists from the Western battle areas, the fighting forces of Islam are fully in position in their new locations and are adequately prepared to hit the positions and fortifications of the Saddamist military on all Western border areas of the country.

He added: Although the Saddamists have concentrated forces at many strategic sectors and heights following their tactical retreat, our fighters are fully on top of the situation and the enemy's border regions, including Khaneqin, Banmil, Mandali, Badreh, Zarbatiyeh, Bagh-e Sai and Chesan, are in the range of fire of our long- and medium-range artillery.

He also said: Although the forces of Islam have a prominent position and superior firepower, they do not consider Iraqi border cities and residential areas as targets. Our fire is directed mainly at the enemy's military positions and fortifications.

Referring to the general situation on Western battlefronts he said: The exchange of heavy artillery and mortar fire has continued in the sectors of Mehran, Maymak, Sumar, Naftshahr, Qasr-e Shirin, Sang-e Hammam, Tang-e Tushaveh, Tang-e Huvar and Bavisi, with our forces inflicting considerable casualties and damage on the Saddamists.

5854

CSO: 4640/434

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH SOUTH YEMEN EXPANDED

Commodity Exchange

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 20 Jul 82 p 2

[Text] Mr 'Abd al-Qadir Ba Jammal, Minister of Industry and Petroleum for the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, met and spoke with Dr Velayati, Foreign Minister of our country, yesterday afternoon. At this meeting, which was attended by the Foreign Ministry's Assistant for International and Economic Affairs and the Director for Asia-Africa Policy, the Ambassador for the Democratic Republic of Yemen in Tehran, and the Islamic Republic of Iran's ambassador to that country, discussions were held concerning mutual relations in the areas of commerce and economics, a policy of cooperation between the two governments in order to thwart plots by imperialists and Zionists and their agents in the area, and the satisfaction of the two countries' needs by way of each other.

Before noon yesterday 'Abd al-Qadir Ba Jammal, Minister of Petroleum for the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, who has come to Tehran as chief of an economic delegation, also met and spoke with Mr Habibollah Asgar-Oladi-Mosalman, our country's Minister of Commerce. At the conclusion of this meeting, which lasted an hour, a one-year barter agreement was signed between the two countries.

After the signing of the agreement, Mr Ghanimi-Fard said in the course of a commentary: On the basis of this agreement Iranian-made goods will be shipped to Yemen.

Ways to export merchandise from Yemen to Iran will also be studied. He added: In view of the fact that the Democratic Republic of Yemen is a country with potential resources, God willing and with Iran's economic cooperation it will actually export its merchandise to Iran in the future and this cooperation will be in the interest of both countries. Ghanimi-Fard then added: In view of the fact that our country is now in an imposed war with the mercenary regime of Iraq, the country's industrial resources and its resources in the food, pharmaceutical and chemical industries will be studied and planning will be done so that these kinds of products will be exported to the Democratic Republic of Yemen.

In conclusion he said: If both parties to the agreement agree, this agreement will be renewed annually.

Prior to the signing of the agreement, Habibollah Asgar-Oladi said during a detailed talk: I hope that this trip's achievements will open new paths and bring happiness to your nation. He added: When I was in prison I followed the political uprisings in your country and the problems your people were having with the international powers, and I studied your endurance of inhuman treatment even at the hands of Iran and the matter was totally tangible for me. I carefully followed your demands for independence and the right to live a humane life. Today, I think that in present circumstances the interaction and exchange of ideas that are going on among the nations of the region and must go on, can take us towards a real and humane independence which is untainted by the power-brokers.

Asgar-Oladi added: Although we have come together in the signing of an agreement, the hope is that, God willing, this agreement will be the beginning of other auspicious agreements between the two nations.

He added: In economic and commercial exchange matters between two brother nations, it is not our idea to sit and haggle, but rather to sit together and study which surplus goods you have and which goods we have and to alleviate each other's shortages by exporting each other's surpluses in order that we may take both countries forward in the way of humanity and a better life.

Asgar-Oladi added: We praise the positions taken by your country during the economic embargo and on the imposed war and we are thankful for that. He said: Although so far our nation has been unable to fulfill its responsibilities as a brother nation to the brother nation of Yemen, efforts have taken shape in the Islamic Republic of Iran in such a way that we should have the first opportunities allowed by the imposed war to be of service to brother nations in the area.

In another portion of his remarks Asgar-Oladi said: I think we will send a delegation to your country in order to bring some of Yemen's export products to our country. Of course we will procure samples of your export merchandise from other countries, but what could be better than that we should obtain goods of this type from the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

At the conclusion of his remarks he characterized the economic, political, and commercial relations between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen as hopeful and said: I hope that these relations between the two countries will expand significantly as the days go by.

Then 'Abd al-Qadir Ba Jammal also said during a talk: I have been hoping for this visit for some time. The reason for the delay was the idolater who ruled in Iran. He added: With the victory of the Islamic revolution of Iran the way is prepared for economic and political cooperation between the two countries, and I hope these occasions will become more frequent as the days go by. He said: In 1976 we became aware that the Shah was about to occupy our land. But we knew that the Iranian nation was with us. We were aware that people were fighting him from within and outside the prisons. The result was that the will of the people was stronger and the people were finally victorious. Even now these two nations have tangible relations and I believe these relations will become stronger. He said: The colonialists and the region's reactionary countries have been putting pressure on the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen

for about 130 years, but they were disappointed, and when imperialism is disappointed methods change and economic pressure enters the picture. You saw this happen in your country because of American imperialism. It was defeated in this procedure however, and this is one of the greatest experiences that the awakened and combatant people of Iran were able to defeat world-devouring America with their resistance. At the conclusion of his remarks he said: In 1977 the countries of the region promised to help us with petroleum. This help was to have included two million barrels from Saudi Arabia, 700 thousand barrels from the United Arab Emirates, and a million barrels from Kuwait. None of them came through, however, because they wanted to exploit us. We preferred to have the Aden refinery continue operating at one quarter capacity and we suffered much economic loss, but we did not go under the mantle of this aid they were offering.

After the signing of this agreement, Mr Asgar-Oladi, while stating the Islamic Republic of Iran's positions for the delegation from the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, said: The Islamic revolution taught us this lesson, that nations must live freely and independently on the basis of their own ideas, and we do not regard the intervention of any country, large or small, into the affairs of other countries as being in any way Islamic.

Aden To Refine Crude Oil

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 20 Jul 82 p 4

[Text] At eight o'clock in the morning, today, Tuesday, a note of agreement was signed in the matter of petroleum cooperation between Iran and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen by Engineer Seyyed Mohammad Qarazi, our country's Minister of Petroleum, and 'Abd al-Qadir Ba Jammal, Minister of Petroleum and Industry for the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, at the Ministry of Petroleum.

After the signing of this note of agreement 'Abd al-Qadir Ba Jammal said during his speech: I am happy for two reasons, one because I have come to the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the other reason is not merely because of issues related to petroleum refinement, but I am very happy and delighted at the opportunity which has presented itself to expand mutual relations.

He added: With the signing of this note of agreement I think an effective step has been taken in the matter of petroleum issues between the two countries.

Engineer Qarazi, our country's Minister of Petroleum, also said to the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY: In the past the refinement of Iranian petroleum was done abroad in Mediterranean refineries usually belonging to the British Petroleum Company, but on the orders of the martyred Raja'i, the Ministry of Petroleum was charged with turning the matter of refinement outside the country over to the refineries of friendly countries, especially the Aden refinery, with its 50,000 barrel per day capacity. The Islamic Republic of Iran's Minister of Petroleum said: For a period of five years, on the basis of an agreement that it may be extended every six months, Iranian crude oil will be refined in the Aden refinery.

Engineer Qarazi added: In the matter of engineering and the refinement of crude oil, the Islamic Republic of Iran will give the necessary assistance to the People's Republic of Yemen.

AGREEMENT MADE WITH SPAIN TO BUILD HOUSING

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 31 Jul 82 p 13

[Text] A delegation from the Islamic Republic of Iran under the leadership of the minister of industries and mines which had been on a 3-day visit to Spain leaves Madrid today for Tehran.

According to the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY, yesterday morning brother Hashemi, the minister of industries and mines and head of the delegation to Spain, held discussions with the foreign minister of that country.

At this meeting at which the Iranian ambassador to Spain, the Spanish ambassador to Iran, officials of the Spanish foreign ministry and representatives from our foreign ministry were present, discussions and exchanges of views were held concerning the strengthening of bilateral political and economic ties.

According to a report by AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE from Madrid, Industries and Mines Minister Mostafa Hashemi who had begun a 3-day official visit to Spain as of Wednesday met on Thursday with Minister of Public Works and Urbanism Luis Ortiz Gonzalez. It is learned from informed sources that their talks concerned bilateral cooperation in housing construction, port facilities and highway building. The sources added that Spanish technicians of public works and urban affairs will soon leave for Tehran for a first-hand look at problems and some projects.

It should be mentioned that Mostafa Hashemi is being accompanied by a number of high-ranking Iranian officials from the Industries and Mines and Housing sectors. The delegation leaves Madrid today.

Also Thursday afternoon the embassy of the Islamic Republic gave a dinner reception for the high-ranking delegation of our country headed by Industries and Mines Minister Hashemi. During the reception in which the Spanish Minister of Industry and Energy as well as high-ranking officials of the Economy and Commerce Ministry, Organization of National Industries and Spanish Foreign Ministry took part, a communique concerning the delegation's visit was issued.

The same report notes that Thursday morning the Minister of Industries and Mines, accompanied by the Iranian ambassador to Spain, visited the engine, machinery and tractor manufacturing plants in Barcelona.

PEOPLE TOLD GOVERNMENT NOT RULERS BUT SERVANTS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 31 Jul 82 p 2

[Speech by Minister of Interior Nateq-Nuri]

[Text] Thursday afternoon Interior Minister Hojjatol-Eslam Nateq-Nuri, accompanied by brother Akhundi, the political assistant of the Ministry of Interior, and Fars Governor-General Taqa' arrived by plane at Yasuj, the capital of Kohkiluyeh va Boyer Ahmad Province and was greeted by Hojjatol-Eslam Shahmiri, the Friday prayer leader, Qaemi, the Boyer Ahmad peoples deputy in the Islamic Consultative Assembly, Kafa'i, the governor-general of Kohkiluyeh va Boyer Ahmad and a group of personalities in the province.

He proceeded immediately to the office of the governor-general and took part at a meeting of all responsible officials of the province and Islamic revolutionary institutions held in the prayer hall of the executive offices.

At the start of the meeting Hojjatol-Eslam Shahmiri, the Friday prayer leader of Yasuj, welcomed him to Kohkiluyeh and Boyer Ahmad Province. The Minister of Interior spoke at length concerning the blessing of an Islamic government and the responsibility of officials before this divine system. Accompanied by his entourage, Mr Nateq-Nuri then took part at a meeting of responsible officials of institutions of the Islamic Revolution at which were present the Friday prayer leader of Yasuj, militant clergy, the people's deputy of Boyer Ahmad in the Islamic Majlis and the governor-general of Kohkiluyeh va Boyer Ahmad, and discussed issues and problems of institutions of the Islamic Revolution.

Hojjatol-Eslam Nateq-Nuri, the minister of interior, yesterday morning spoke to a gathering of employees of the police, gendarmerie and revolution guard offices at the Yasuj gendarmerie company headquarters, saying: Today you are the servants of the school and order of the Islamic Republic of Iran and Muslim people. Seeing you is a noble respite as it was in the case of the friends of Hoseyn and the friends of the Master of the Ages. You must do your utmost for the people. Those in the police, gendarmerie and guards corps should bear in mind that we are not rulers over the people. As the Imam has said you should so act that people will not consider you rulers but servants. There is a difference between a ruler, a slavemaster and a person who enters with the intention of serving. If we forget God and confront

others in ego promoting fashion, we will have caused despair in people, but if we come into contact with rural and urban residents as a soldier of the Imam and a servant, it is Islam's gain. We hope that God will grant us the opportunity of serving Islam and safeguarding the benefits of the Islamic Revolution.

5854

CSO: 4640/434

ECONOMIC COUNCIL APPROVES FIVE-YEAR PLAN

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 28 Jul 82 p 3

[Text] The Economic Council met yesterday under chairmanship of Prime Minister Mir-Hoseyn Musavi and with the participation of members of the Joint Planning and Energy Ministry Council and experts from the Plan and Budget Organization, and discussed the extent of progress in the water and agricultural sectors.

The meeting discussed and made decisions concerning the following:

1. The timetable for the preparation and submission of the 5-year plan of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the budget for 1983-1984 were discussed and approved.

According to this authorization, a task force is to be established under the responsibility of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, and with the participation of representatives of the Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Education and Training, Ministry of Culture and Higher Education, the Supreme Council of Banks and the Plan and Budget Organization, to mobilize the manpower needed by institutions for carrying out medium- and long-term programs and in conjunction with the drawing up of training guidelines, act to mobilize the manpower.

2. Implementary regulations and the schedule of work proposed by the board sanctioning regional district programs were discussed and it was decided that a council consisting of joint planning councils should study the regulations and after amendments communicate them to institutions concerned for implementation.

3. While stressing the need for coordination of planning and investments of banks with government programs it was decided that a council consisting of officials of the Central Bank and the Plan and Budget Organization be established to draw up guidelines for the cooperation and submit them to the Economic Council for approval.

4. At this meeting, the Foreign Exchange Allocation Committee gave a report of its work during the first 3 months of 1361 [21 March 1982-20 March 1983] and submitted the estimated foreign exchange requirements for the second

quarter of the year. After certain directives, the council approved the committee's proposal.

In order to expedite the rebuilding of war-hit areas, the committee decided that foreign exchange for reconstruction which is affirmed by the Supreme Reconstruction Council be placed at the disposal of the reconstruction task force.

5. A proposal by the Economic Mobilization Task Force for payment of subsidy to balance the sale price of basic products to villagers was discussed and approved at the meeting. Thus basic goods sold to the villagers will be at the same price as prevailing in cities.

6. The meeting also discussed and approved a proposal by the governor-general of Bushehr that 500 million rial be provided in order to complete the developmental, tribal and urgent projects of the province.

5854

CSO: 4640/434

POLITICAL

IRAN

IRAQI KURDS ASK FOR POLITICAL ASYLUM

Athens AKROPOLIS in Greek 22 Aug 82 p 16

[Text] Fourteen Iraqi Kurds, who for four days have been held in the transit room of the Ellinikon Airport, asked police authorities for political asylum yesterday.

There are two women and three minor children among the Kurdish rebels. They arrived in Greece last Wednesday from Teheran from where they had been expelled by the Khomeini regime.

Although their destination was Stockholm via Sofia, where they were to seek political asylum, the Soviet airline AEROFLOT on which IRAN AIR had booked reservations refused them seats because of foreign pressure.

In view of the situation which developed after Moscow's refusal, the Kurdish revolutionaries decided yesterday to get in touch with an officer of the police at the airport and expressed the desire of seeking asylum in our country.

Their request, according to reports, is being examined by Greek authorities. The Kurds also recounted for AKROPOLIS the sufferings they recently underwent, especially their three minor children, one to two years of age, who following their parents' steps are subjected to the hardships of sleeplessness, heat, hunger and dirt.

All the Kurds are young and because they were not allowed to proceed to Stockholm, wish to remain in Greece to study and become law abiding Greek citizens.

9731

CSO: 4621/491

ZAYANDEH RIVER TO GET MORE WATER FROM 'KUHRANG' TWO

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 1 Aug 82 p 4

[Text] As work towards operation of the "Kuhrang" Two water-transport network plan continues, one of the canals from the "Nekuabad" diversionary dam will be tested during the current month after completing waterproofing operations on it.

This matter was announced in IRNA's interview with the acting director and various section officials of the Esfahan Province Water Organization. This canal, which is 52 kilometers long, comprises 90 percent of the Zayandeh River irrigation network's 59-kilometer-long main canal. It will be put into operation after step-by-step testing. Effects of the canal's operation will include increasing the land under cultivation to 5,000 hectares in lower Lenjan and parts of Marbin and Jay, controlling water usage, and preventing water waste in the area.

In the interview, Esfahan Province Water Organization officials were asked about development plans for water-transport. They pointed to the Zayandeh River Irrigation and Drainage Plan. Part of this plan is the irrigation and drainage network for the leftside of Nekuabad, which will have a final capacity of 50 cubic meters of water per second. They also noted the irrigation and drainage network for Nekuabad's right side, and the Kuhrang completion plan aimed at transferring water from the head branches of the Karun River to the Zayandeh and to the irrigation and drainage network on the right side of Abshar.

According to this report, the Kuhrang completion plan, which includes a dam and a second Kuhrang tunnel, is aimed at adding 160 million cubic meters of water to the Zayandeh River. This plan has been designed and is under implementation. Operation will begin in the March 1986-March 1987 year, and comprises two sections. The first section of the plan adds 160 million cubic meters of water to the Zayandeh River, annually, is 3 kilometers long, has a final diameter of 4.2 meters, and a transfer capacity of 53 cubic meters per second. It includes one diversionary dam 22 meters tall and 70 meters wide. The second section of the Kuhrang Plan includes a 10,200 meter-long, 3-meter-diameter tunnel, and 3 small dams, with heights of 11, 5 and 11 meters. The tunnel's maximum capacity is 14 cubic meters per second. It will add 90 million cubic meters of water to the Zayandeh River annually.

In the interview officials pointed to the plan's prior implementation, and said: The first contract was concluded with an Iranian contractor in March 1973-March 1974, but this contractor was dismissed after completing 20 percent of the work. Plan implementation was turned over to a Japanese company after international bidding. The plan consultant is a French company, and due to dissatisfaction with the plan's progress, it has been decided that our colleagues in the provincial water organization will assume responsibility for the consulting work. Right now 30 percent of the work on the plan has been done. After complete plan implementation, the tunnel's operation will deliver 260 million cubic meters of water annually.

According to the report, the plan's primary budget was 5.794 billion rials. Those interviewed expressed hope that by adjusting prices the cost would not exceed 900 million tumans. The plan's three goals are supplying water for large industries, agriculture and drinking purposes. Upon complete operation of the tunnel and its water-transport network which is already under implementation, about 25 thousand hectares of land will be added to cultivation. At the present time the operation of the Zayandeh River Dam irrigates 10 thousand hectares of land below the dam.

9597

CSO: 4640/444

FOURTH GROUP OF TEHRAN IRAQIS LEAVE FOR FRONT

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 1 Aug 82 p 3

[Speech by Hojjat ol-Eslam Hakim]

[Text] Yesterday afternoon in a ceremony attended by Hojjat ol-Eslam Hakim, chief of the Iraqi Islamic Revolution Office, the fourth group of Muslim, combative Iraqi brothers residing in Iran left Tehran for the battlefronts in the south in order to purge their homeland from the filthy presence of Saddam's infidels.

During the ceremony, Hojjat ol-Eslam Hakim gave a speech and said: These are fateful, critical moments and days for the history of the Islamic revolution. This is a time when the nation's imam, the great Khomeyni, has decided to aid Iraq's oppressed in order to liberate them from the evil of Iraq's Idol. In his historic message addressed to the Iraqi Muslim nation at home and abroad, he summoned them to struggle against Saddam. The children and chosen ones of Iraq's Muslim nation obeyed the nation's imam's message, and are going off to the fronts in order to fight at the side of their Iranian brothers against Islam's enemies.

As Hojjat ol-Eslam Hakim continued his speech addressed to the warrior children of Iraq's Muslim nation who were going off to the fronts of the battle against the tyrants of the Islamic homeland, he said: You who are going to the battlefronts are answering the cries for help of hundreds of thousands of Iraqi refugees and hundreds of thousands imprisoned by Iraq's Ba'thist regime. In addition you are carrying out your religious duty and obeying the nation's imam, the great Khomeyni. Your presence at the side of Iran's fighting brothers not only is a proof that Islam's forces intend to liberate enchained Iraq, but will also make the victory of Islam's forces a certain matter.

At the end of his speech Hojjat ol-Eslam Hakim expressed hope for the success of Islam's forces in the battle with the Ba'thist tyrants ruling Iraq, and called for the closest possible partnership between Iran and Iraq's Muslim warriors.

At the end of the ceremony the group of Iraqi Muslim brothers left for the fronts of the battle against Saddam's 'Aflaqi Ba'thist mercenaries, while they chanted Arabic slogans such as: "Death to Saddam, victory to Islam," "God is one, Khomeyni the leader," "God, God, until the Mahdi's return," and "May Khomeyni protect us."

9597

CSO: 4640/444

EGG PRODUCTION EXCEEDS DEMAND

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 2 Aug 82 p 14

[Speech by Gholam Reza Aqazadeh, chief of Economic Mobilization Headquarters]

[Text] The State Economic Mobilization Staff convened yesterday. The session began with a recitation of verses from the glorious word of God, and was chaired by Gholam Reza Aqazadeh, minister of state for executive affairs and chief of the economic mobilization staff. The session was attended by fully-empowered deputies from the ministries with staff membership, the Tehran governor-general, managing directors of the Organization Supporting Consumers and Producers and the Reliance Organization, plenipotentiaries from the Reconstruction Crusade Central Council and Bank-e Markazi, and the deputy prime minister for Islamic revolution organs.

At the session's beginning, members gave the latest news and current economic reports, which were then discussed. Then chiefs of the State Economic Mobilization Staff komitehs for goods-distribution in rural and tribal regions and fair vehicle distribution presented their weekly reports to the meeting. Attention was then given to the liberation of cities in the country's west and south from the occupation of the Iraqi Ba'thist aggressors and the return of residents to these cities. In light of this, the staff approved the delivery of goods to these regions above the predetermined ration for a period of three months to improve the welfare of the residents of these cities.

Then attention was given to improving the welfare of the proud and heroic people of the tribal regions and to eliminating insufficiencies in the distribution of goods to these regions. The staff approved a part payment of rationed basic goods for the region's half-million people. The goods will be placed at the disposal of the country's Rural Cooperative Organizations for distribution. Then attention was given to the increase in egg production across the country which at present exceeds public demand. In order to preserve and store eggs for future months, the staff approved the appropriation of 20 million tumans to the ministry of commerce for this purpose.

At the end of the meeting, which lasted five hours, there was discussion concerning the supply of spare parts needed for the Vahed Company's trucks and buses. It was resolved to continue study of this matter.

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BA'TH IDEOLOGY SAID TO BE CONSISTENT WITH NONALIGNMENT

Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 21 Jul 82 p 4

[Article by Qahtan al-Tawil: "The Ba'th Ideology and the Nonaligned Movement"]

[Text] It has become widely known and accepted in the field of contemporary international political activity that positive neutralism or nonalignment is, in general, an established political position adopted by nations rallying under the banner of the contemporary nonaligned movement.

This position is embodied by the fact that the nation which is nonaligned is a nation which is not committed to this or that international bloc, by means of an alliance, treaty, or some other type of relationship, which would make this nation, either officially or objectively, a member of one of the two opposing camps in any way or to any degree. This applies regardless of the nature of this nonaligned nation's ruling regime or the economic, political, and social forces which predominate in this nation.

This is the general picture of the contemporary nonaligned movement. In general, it is true that this is a position which, politically speaking, involves a necessary minimum for the nonaligned nation to be described as a nation which is not aligned with either of the two camps. This means that such a nation has a measure of freedom and a degree of independence which generally allow it to remain outside a situation in which it has to comply with the requirements, involvements, and commitments of a nation which, either officially or objectively, could be described as a nation which is aligned with one of the two blocs.

The Ba'th Position Concerning the Matter

The question now is: Is this basically all of what the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party understands and expounds as being positive neutralism or nonalignment? And, consequently, does this above-mentioned position constitute the Ba'th Party's entire link to the question of nonalignment, in spite of the soundness and necessity of this position?

Before answering these two questions, it is necessary that we establish the following objective fact: The Arab Ba'th Socialist Party was one of the first movements in the Third World which expounded the concept of positive neutralism

between the two camps, and the Ba'th Party has been doing this ever since the 1950's.

Let us now go back and answer the two questions which have been brought up:

The Ba'th Understanding of the Doctrine of Nonalignment and the Essence of Its Link to It

Since the very beginning, the Ba'th Party has understood and expounded this question as follows in its writings, especially in the book called "For the Ba'th Cause.":

The policy of neutralism which was proclaimed by the party is more than a policy. It involves the principles of the Ba'th Party and its basic thinking. From the beginning our party's thinking has been oriented toward calling for a new revolutionary solution to the world's problems which is based on a positive view of mankind and which is devoid of the negativism of the theory of materialism, its fanaticism, and its denial of freedom. On the international plane, the new Arab movement is oriented toward establishing an Arab policy on the basis of having the Arab world be independent of the policy of international blocs, having the Arab world be neutral, and having the Arab world play its own special positive role with regard to mankind. It rejects the policy of [opposing] camps, refuses to regard only the new regimes as being good, refuses to regard only the other side as being bad, and sees a position of neutralism with regard to the two sides as being a guarantee of freedom for the Arab nations and a means of helping them to pursue their independent path.

The success so far achieved by the policy of neutralism is clear proof of the existence of a basic shortcoming and great danger in the policy of having [opposing] camps and the policy of having narrow doctrinal schisms.

The fact that this neutralism is "positive" means that the considerable portion of the world which has adopted this neutralism is not content with the negative approach of rejecting and avoiding this mistaken path. These neutral nations are also offering a new solution. Thus the concept of positive neutralism embraces more than just a number of African and Asian nations and is more profound than the merely political level on which positive neutralism generally is expressed. Positive neutralism--in the sense of aspiring to adopt a new and comprehensive position--rises above the adversary relationship between socialism and capitalism and deals more profoundly with human problems and international relations than has ever before been done, benefiting from all the developments and changes which have taken place since the formulation of this theory of adversary relationship--especially since the crystallization of the schism and conflict between the Eastern and Western blocs. The position of positive neutralism is also a new and creative cultural position which has been taken between the two conflicting civilizations, and it does not totally adopt either Western or Eastern values, does not accept blind fanatic loyalty to a particular doctrine, nor is it blindly hostile to any particular regime or philosophy. Our position with regard to freedom is also the position of positive neutralism. We feel that the answer to the falsification of freedom is not to dispense with freedom, but rather to put freedom sincerely into practice.

A Revolutionary View and an Independently Critical Approach With Regard to the Contemporary World

In our opinion, the conclusions which can be drawn from the party's concept of nonalignment are the following:

1. The Ba'th Party's concept of positive neutralism or nonalignment is a position which accurately and objectively expresses the situation, objectives, and legitimate interests of the Arab world at this stage of the history of the Arabs and the history of the whole world. At the same time this position, generally speaking, is one which should enjoy acceptance and commitment on the part of the nations constituting the contemporary nonaligned movement. The reason for this is that this concept is one which responds to the basic higher interests and goals of these nations. They are embodied by independence, real progress, cooperation, and solidarity for the sake of [these nation's] mutual interests and friendship and for the sake of joint international security--far removed from all forms of, and attempts to impose, domination by this or that great power. Furthermore, this concept not only involves refusal to enter a war as an ally of this or that bloc. It also involves serious, effective, organized, and continuous action taken to basically prevent the outbreaks of wars. In fact, the present-day international blocs have become unable to make any attempt to either distort or falsify this concept or to replace it with any other concept.

This is why these blocs, instead of doing this, are putting various forms of pressure on the nonaligned movement as a group [of nations] or on each of the nonaligned countries individually. The purpose of their doing this is to change the situations and policies inside the nonaligned countries. They are doing this in a way which serves the strategies and interests of the great powers which are fighting each other--strategies and interests which are known to the whole contemporary world.

2. The party's interpretation of nonalignment and its commitment to it stem from the core of the Ba'th Party's socialist and pan-Arab ideology which is essentially a human ideology. Consequently, the position of nonalignment is a position of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party which is fundamental, political, and permanent. It is not the result of the traditional practice of taking this or that into account when dealing with current international politics. This is an approach which is basically followed in accordance with the criteria of profits and losses on the national and international level. This explains the moralistic nature of the position of positive neutralism as expounded and practiced by the party.

3. The Ba'th Party's commitment to the concept of positive neutralism or nonalignment is the result of an independent, objective, scientific, and critical analysis of the characteristics, trends, and issues of the contemporary world as well as its previous and current developments. It is an analysis which the party has made of the situation in the Arab world and the rest of the contemporary world, based on a revolutionary view whose essence is the diagnosis and investigation of all of the goals of the Arab world having to do with unity, liberation, and progress, as well as the

goals of the peoples of the Third World whose circumstances and situations are similar to those of the Arab world. [The analysis was carried out] in a way which would guarantee harmonizing these goals, legitimate interests, and their positive development on the one hand, and guarantee harmonizing them with the legitimate rights and interests of the nations which are outside the nonaligned movement, on the other hand.

The Ba'th Position Concerning Application

The Ba'th Party has publicly espoused positive neutralism since before the fifties of this century, that is, when it was still not in power. Although the party leadership was cut off from political power in both Syria and Iraq as a result of the two apostasies of February 1966 and November 1963, since July 1968 the party leadership of the revolution in Iraq has set matters aright. The party has been successful in actually and creatively putting into practice the concept of real independence and nonalignment to serve the revolution, government, and society in Iraq, and it has pursued Iraq's foreign policy on this basis since the very first days of the victory of the July 1968 revolution. This happened in spite of all of the conspiracies, obstacles, and difficulties which the revolution has confronted--and it is still confronting--from the time of its victory up till the present day. In fact, it is on the basis of all of the events of the last 14 years that one should interpret and explain all of these conspiracies, obstacles, and difficulties hatched by our enemies. They are a result of this nonaligned independent path pursued by Iraq both at home and abroad, and Iraq is fighting on all fronts to establish this path and persist in continuing with it.

The fact is that the aggressive war being waged by Khomeini's Iran against Iraq of the revolution will not be the last of these difficulties. However, in the final analysis Iraq and its independent nonaligned path will be victorious--no matter how long it takes to achieve this victory. This is the law of life which must inevitably prevail.

The masses in Iraq and the masses of the Arab world, by means of their own daily experience, have sensed the correctness and benefit of this path and realize that it is this path alone which has made it possible for Iraq and its leadership, represented by President Saddam Husayn, to occupy its position of high standing in the contemporary world. This has been demonstrated by the fact that the nonaligned movement has chosen Baghdad as the location to host its seventh summit conference during September of this year, by the fact that Iraq has been chosen to administer the affairs of the movement during its next phase, and by the fact that all of mankind, as represented by the UN, has chosen Iraq [as the nation whose representative will chair] the current session of the UN General Assembly.

All of this and everything else has come about due to the effective leading and pioneering role played in the Arab world and in the international arena by Iraq, led by the Ba'th Party. Iraq has played this role with all of the necessary sacrifice, persistence, organization, and high revolutionary morality when defending the interests of nations and the security of the world which is based on legitimacy, equitable interests, and mutual friendship between the nations of this earth.

APPROACH TO OCCUPATION IN LEBANON DISCUSSED

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 6 Aug 82 p 14

[Article by Tzvi Harel: "Military Government and Aid"]

[Text] Two occupied areas. In neither place did the IDF fight against the local population. In both places the idea was to attack the "foreign" armies occupying the area. In both places, belonging to a sovereign state, the IDF established after the occupation a government system designed to deal with the local population. And yet there is a fundamental difference between the military government system and the civilian administration on the West Bank and Gaza on the one hand, and the unit for helping civilians--military government in Lebanon.

The difference lies in the political approach of the Israeli government. While the West Bank is seen as an inseparable part of Israel, in Lebanon the approach is different. Historical demands and rights, as well as strategic needs justifying the occupation and the desire to annex the territory, are not part of the political conception guiding the government in Lebanon. This is also the reason for the difference in the attitude of the military authorities toward the occupied population in both places. In both places the military system is guided by the need to help the local population, now bereft of its own government and dependent on the services offered by the IDF. Yet, while the Jordanian government totally disappeared in the West Bank after the occupation, the Government of Lebanon continues to exist and even fulfill its administrative duties quite expeditiously. Moreover, the initiative shown by the Lebanese population, except for the refugees, and its strong desire to go back to normal living on the one hand as well as its traditional capability of running its own affairs on the other, do not leave much for the IDF to do.

The attitude of the population and the government in Lebanon that prevents the IDF from getting too involved in running their lives is in keeping with the policy of the Israeli government. Israel says it "did not come to interfere with internal affairs in Lebanon." Except for first aid in restoring services like water, electricity, telephone, establishing ties with suppliers in Israel, activating the police and the banks, conducting surveys (fishing, antiques, harbors, etc.), the aid unit in Lebanon stays out of the local affairs. "As long as the local population can solve its own problems we do

not interfere," a senior officer of the unit told me. "When we are asked for help we respond and do what we can." There are no budgetary problems either. The Government of Lebanon has sufficient funds for the modest services it had provided in the area before the war. This removes a major financial burden from the Israeli Ministry of Defense. Lebanon does not want to see Israeli funds invested in its internal affairs nor does it ask for repayment of war damages.

Limited Aid

The job of the aid to civilians unit is therefore limited to indirect supervision of normal daily life and solving immediate problems created during and because of the war, the kind of problems the local population turns to the IDF for help. This is true about the Lebanese population. A separate and painful issue is the refugee question. There have been some discussions between the IDF and the Lebanese authorities on this issue. The Lebanese have defined the refugee problem as an internal Lebanese problem, thus preventing Israel so far from doing any rehabilitation work with the refugees. The Lebanese insist on resolving the refugee problem by themselves, and are willing to invest funds, on condition a comprehensive solution is found for the problem. Thus, in areas where the aid unit could have helped, it has found itself limited by political considerations.

At the Sarayah building--the government building in Sidon, where the headquarters of the aid unit are, the affairs of the region are run with the help of the district heads. There is an atmosphere of a willingness to give, thwarted by a client unwilling to receive. The administrative system, identical to the system in the West Bank, both in its structure and its staffing with officers who got their experience in the West Bank and Gaza, can be misleading. One may expect it to run everyday life as does the military government.

It is important, therefore, to remember that the military government on the West Bank was intended to replace the civilian government of Jordan and its administrative system, and in effect establish a new system that would function according to the needs of the State of Israel. Unlike in Lebanon, the Government of Israel has invested huge sums of money in developing an administrative and economic infrastructure in the territories, not so much because of the welfare of the civilian population, but rather for political reasons. As soon as Israel realized that the investment was not paying off, since the Palestinian population did not become sympathetic to Israel because of the excellent agricultural training, and no one asked us to remain on the West Bank as a result of the rise in the standard of living, the injection of funds became selective, and in some areas was stopped altogether. Unlike the policy of the aid unit in Lebanon, in the territories the military government strives to create a political reality that will enable Israel to rule the area without great difficulties.

Forcing a Settlement

While in Lebanon the local authorities hasten to take the initiative and normalize everyday life, the military government on the West Bank uses its

authority to disband the parallel institutions and build a new system that will serve the interests of the government even if it is not supported by the local population. While in Lebanon the military government respects the wishes of the Lebanese government and the municipalities and is mindful of their autonomy, on the West Bank it interferes in the local affairs without regard for the existing institutions, including the ones established by its own hands.

One of the justifications of the government for not interfering in internal affairs in Lebanon in contradiction to its interference on the West Bank is that the IDF does not fight against Lebanon but against the PLO, and that the population of Lebanon does not show hostility toward Israel as does the population of the West Bank. But this was also true in 1967. The war on the West Bank was against Jordan and not against the Palestinian population. And except for the political-historical-religious aspirations, there should have not been any difference between the attitude toward the occupation in Lebanon and on the West Bank.

Officially, and more than officially, Lebanon has always been considered an enemy country. Although militarily it was not considered dangerous, after the entry of Syrian forces and Palestinian forces into Lebanon, Lebanon engaged the IDF more than any other front. Moreover, no one at this time can guarantee that Lebanon will ever sign a peace treaty with Israel, and that the population of Lebanon will continue to consider us its saviors. Finally, the statement of the Israeli government regarding the withdrawal of the IDF from Lebanon not after the exit of the PLO but after a strong local government is established, capable of preventing a repetition of the situation created in the mid-seventies, indicates that Israel is looking to enforce a political solution favorable to Israel.

And so there is no difference in essence between the search of a new political reality on the West Bank and the search for a new political reality in Lebanon, both dictated by military force. It is therefore safe to assume that the joy of liberation of the Lebanese population may soon turn into feelings of hostility against the occupier, not unlike the prevalent feelings on the West Bank.

Fortunately, the aid unit in Lebanon does not follow the example of the military authorities on the West Bank, thus removing one major factor of potential conflict. Perhaps after the liquidation of the PLO in Lebanon the authorities on the West Bank will try to emulate the aid unit and apply its experience to the territories.

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SHEFAR'AM MAYOR INTERVIEWED ON ARAB-JEWISH COEXISTENCE

Position on Lebanon

Tel Aviv YOMAN HASHAVU'A in Hebrew No 15, 23 Jul 82 p 21

[Interview with Ibrahim Nimr Husayn, mayor of Shefar'am, by Ester Barzilay, date and plate not specified]

[Text] Ibrahim Nimr Husayn (46), mayor of Shefar'am, serves as the chairman of the national committee of the Arab municipal councils in Israel. He is a moderate who is respected in all Arab circles.

"I represent the opinion of the majority of Arabs in Israel, otherwise they would not have elected me as their chairman," says Husayn. He is outspoken on the issue of the Palestinians and is not afraid to speak out against the PLO and 'Arafat, in a way no Israeli Arab has so far dared to speak.

YOMAN HASHAVU'A: Mr Ibrahim Nimr Husayn, is there a peaceful coexistence between Jews and Arabs?

Husayn: Yes. Usually there is, until some affair connected with Arabs blows up. Such as the uncovering of a terrorist network in Lod-Ramleh, with 20 Israeli Arab members. But we must not allow Jewish-Arab coexistence to be affected by negative factors. These are isolated cases that should not reflect on all Israeli Arabs.

Question: What is your attitude, as an Israeli Arab, toward the Peace for Galilee campaign?

Answer: War is a shocking and painful thing. The attitude of the Arabs sways between deep fear regarding the Palestinian civilians in West Beirut and rage over the death of the innocent, who have been held hostage by the terrorists. The general feeling in the Arab community borders on serious condemnation of Yasir 'Arafat and his friends who through terror have led their Palestinian followers to the verge of the abyss.

Among Israeli Arabs there is complete separation between their attitude toward the PLO and toward the Palestinians. We maintain that not every Palestinian Arab is a terrorist. The ideology of the PLO as a terrorist

organization is to kill and destroy, while the Palestinians themselves are suffering refugees, used by a handful of perverted, blood-thirsty people who capitalize on their problems and use their fists in the form of rocket-launchers and the killing of innocent women and children.

Question: If 'Arafat is a perverted blood-thirsty person, why didn't you rise up against him?

Answer: If the Palestinian refugees had been polled before the war on one question, do you wish to attain your goal of a Palestinian state through terror, most of them would have responded no. But in the presence of the PLO they were afraid to say so.

All the terrorist organizations have used the Palestinians as pawns. They hid in their homes, they hid weapons in their cellars, they put their headquarters in the refugee camps. The refugees suffered from the rule of the "muharibin" organization. The word itself indicates their attitude toward them--destroyers. The Israeli term referring to the terrorists is too soft.

Question: You maintain, then, that destroying the PLO infrastructure was necessary?

Answer: Liquidating the PLO as a terrorist organization, as it is today, is a necessary thing. Its only aim was to destroy the State of Israel, and its refusal to look for peaceful solutions made it stray from the goal for which it had been established.

If a decent group of people came along with the intention of helping the Palestinians establish their own state, peacefully, we would support it. But 'Arafat and his friends missed their chance. His terrorist methods alienated his supporters among Israeli Arabs.

Question: You are saying that defeating the PLO justified the Peace for Galilee campaign?

Answer: Is there another way? I believe every person is basically good, but the moment he joins a terrorist organization he loses his moral standards. He can stoop to the lowest depths--kill innocent people in their homes. I am against bloodshed. If the PLO thinks it can achieve its goals through violence and use terror as the only substitute for peaceful negotiations, then any person with any moral standards will oppose it vehemently. Such a terrorist organization goes against all democratic values, has no regard for the worth of the individual, and considers it important to kill as many civilians as possible. In my opinion the PLO is an isolated organization, and no country is willing to take it in. Who wants to get involved with a band of murderers?

The Palestinians, then, should look for another body to plead their case.

Question: Do you justify the Peace for Galilee campaign?

Answer: Generally speaking I do not condone any war. Anything that hurts others is contrary to my own principles. But the Government of Israel should not feel guilty for this campaign, and since it has entered Lebanon it should look a few steps ahead and take account of the refugee problem. The casualties and the suffering on both sides should be justified, for the sake of the victims. I say it is time to make a settlement with the Palestinians at long last. All Palestinians are angry at the Arab states for abandoning them, and Israel can take advantage of this anger and find a just solution for the Palestinian problem, which remains an open wound in the body of the Middle East. No one wants to take care of that wound, and Israel can use this fateful historical moment it is now faced with. The ball is now in Israel's corner, and now more than ever before it can impose a comprehensive peace on a Middle East caught in the circle of hostility.

Take the PLO. The money the PLO has spent on weapons could have been used to rehabilitate all the refugees, not only in Lebanon. It could have been used for development for human betterment. They have used their resources for something that has brought their own destruction.

Question: Do you think 'Arafat is encouraged by the Peace Now demonstrations?

Answer: It is possible that the "Jewish Wars," albeit verbal, inflate 'Arafat's ego. I don't know him and God save me from knowing him. But according to our reports, he changes his conditions constantly, according to the blows the Israeli government receives from its own Jewish citizens.

If such demonstrations took place in an Arab country, or if anyone dared open his mouth against the government, especially during time of war, he would be put in front of a firing squad. A man like Uri Avneri would be considered a traitor, hanged in the city square or beheaded. But what can you do? Israel is a democratic country, and any maniac can say what he wants to say. Even Uri Avneri.

RAKAH Loses Popularity

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 28 Jul 82 p 6

[Article by Muhammad Halilyah and Yitzhaq Meridor: "Shefar'am Mayor Ibrahim Nimr Husayn: RAKAH--A Paper Tiger"]

[Text] Ibrahim Nimr Husayn, age 55, tall and affable, is the mayor of Shefar'am and the chairman of the national committee of the Arab municipal councils in Israel. Husayn is considered one of the distinguished Arab leaders in Israel. His presence or absence in any gathering of Arab leaders in Israel has great significance. He seldom signs manifestos and carefully shies away from spontaneous actions in order not to lend his name to careless statements. Since his becoming the chairman of the national committee of the Arab municipal councils in Israel, everyone--both Jewish and Arab--have learned to take the committee seriously. Although the government has not yet officially recognized this body, government officials admire the good judgment and moderation of the committee's decisions in matters related to Arab municipalities during the term of the mayor of Shefar'am.

Husayn has a special talent for making his guests feel welcome the moment they enter his house. In his large living room, assailed by the note and smells of road paving and blacktopping outside, we took our time sipping bitter coffee and ice water and biting into a juicy watermelon. After a second cup of coffee we began our questions. Our point of departure was the protest meeting against the war in Lebanon, organized by RAKAH and its friends in Nazareth at the beginning of the month, in which, according to RAKAH, the mayor of Shefar'am was to participate. The meeting, designed as an expression of the entire Arab community, turned out to be a small gathering of RAKAH activists and ended in a whimper. Its main goal, namely, to speak in the name of all the Arabs of Israel, was not achieved.

The position of Shefar'am's mayor has a special importance these days. The war in Lebanon has aroused the Israeli Arabs more than previous wars. This time the role of Palestinians in the war was much greater, and the Israeli Arabs, especially in the Galilee, are personally concerned about their relatives, friends and former acquaintances who live in the refugee camps in Lebanon, having suffered a severe blow in this war. Husayn, who did not take part in the protest meeting of the Arab municipal council heads (many others refrained from taking part), maintains that it is perfectly right to protest the war, its scope and the death and destruction caused to Arabs and Palestinians in Lebanon. But he sees no justification or logic in separate protest action by the Arab population. Such action, Husayn says, will only strengthen RAKAH and will serve no good purpose.

The mayor of Shefar'am believes it is much more effective to find ways to work with "sane people" in Israel, both Jewish and Arab. He says the number of such people is large and crossed party lines. This subject calls for joint action of all such people. "You shouldn't split the protest," he says, "or to make a distinction in this issue between Jews and Arabs."

Husayn has harsh words for those who try to give marks. "This is a rotten system, so far only practiced by RAKAH, giving marks and categorizing Israeli citizens as good and bad, loyal and disloyal. One should not follow this system. No public struggle led by RAKAH can succeed. Israeli Arabs cannot benefit from it, since RAKAH is guided by its party interest, which is its ultimate interest."

Any political activity, any attempt to join RAKAH in protest, is a separatist action, Husayn points out, since RAKAH has no influence in the Jewish community. "The democratic elements" in the Jewish community that collaborate with RAKAH, says Husayn, are a few isolated politicians, mostly elderly, known to all. Always the same people. No new faces. "Jewish RAKAH representatives in the Peace Now demonstration were a drop in the bucket," Husayn insists. "They have no weight."

Shefar'am mayor maintains that RAKAH and HADASH were badly beaten in the Peace for Galilee war. RAKAH has been saying that the Soviet Union would rescue the Palestinians, but the USSR turned out to be a paper tiger, and Israel Arabs, who have believed RAKAH, cannot forgive it for what has taken place.

Israeli Arabs have also been rudely disappointed with the behavior of the Arab states. "It is now crystal clear that the Arab world has no intention of doing anything for the Palestinian people. We, Israeli Arabs, have no more illusions about Arab regimes. We feel great compassion for our Palestinian brothers and we feel their pain, since we are part of the Palestinian people. But we are also loyal Israeli citizens." It is important for the mayor of Shefar'am to emphasize this point. "Our fate is bound up in the fate of the State of Israel." The residents of his town, who work for Jews, did not miss one day of work during the war, says Husayn. "There were some," he adds, "who went to work even when there was no work, since the owners or directors had been drafted. But they wanted to prove they were part of Israel and leave no room for misunderstanding."

"I believe," the mayor emphasizes, "that Palestinians must not entertain the hope that the Arab countries will come to their rescue. The solution is not in Russia and not in Syria, but in Israel. The Arab world, and particularly the Palestinian people, must forget about the Soviet Union and follow the way of Sadat, of Egypt."

"The only solution is political--peace with honor. Israel, victorious and strong, must show initiative and offer an honorable solution to the Palestinian problem."

The absence of leading Israeli Arabs in the meeting at Nazareth was obvious. There were no Sons of the Village members or Al Nahda (rebirth) people. There were no members of the progressive student organization of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and the progressive movement in Nazareth, and many heads of Arabs municipalities were absent. All those oppose the war in Lebanon, but had decided not to attend the meeting in order not to be considered followers of RAKAH. Husayn says RAKAH has lost its popularity in the Arab community and is now considered a paper tiger.

He is convinced that the tendency toward a peaceful solution among the Palestinians will now grow. "If a Palestinian entity is established alongside the State of Israel, I believe it will first make an alliance of friendship and cooperation with us, and only then with the Arab countries."

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ARAB STUDENT ASSOCIATION CHAIRMAN INTERVIEWED ON PALESTINIAN ISSUES

Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 6 Aug 82 p 4

[Interview with Muhammad Baraqa, chairman of the National Association of Arab students in Israel, by Hanah Qim, date and place not specified]

[Text] The war in Lebanon has sharpened and polarized public opinion in Israel. We have not heard too much from the Arabs regarding this controversial war, nor have they been mentioned in these internal discussions. It appears that the Arabs of Israel have now recovered from the shock of the outbreak of the war, and the demonstration in Nazareth is the first signal from this part of the population that kept quiet until now. What is happening to the Arab population of Israel as a result of this war? Will the war polarize the views of Israeli Arabs?

Prior to the demonstration in Nazareth a national convention was held on 10 July, resulting in a decision to establish a new committee, "against the war in Lebanon and for Arab-Palestinian peace." The new committee includes 30 heads of local councils, heads of trade associations, women organizations and students.

Muhammad Baraqa, chairman of the National Association of Arab Students in Israel and a cofounder of the new committee, maintains that the war in Lebanon will further politicize and sharpen the national identity of the Arabs in Israel. Baraqa, age 27, active in RAKAH and in the committee for Bir Zeit University and the committee against the war in Lebanon, does not in any way represent the Arab population of Israel and its variety of outlooks. Baraqa belongs to the current that, in his words, is the more progressive in this population, the central current, with a sharp political awareness and clearly defined goals. This current is striving for the establishment of a Palestinian state in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip, alongside the State of Israel.

Double Identity

Baraqa: I don't see any conflict or contradiction between our identity as Palestinian Arabs and as citizens of the State of Israel. Israeli Arabs had a terrible feeling during the outbreak of war, a feeling of helplessness. We are Israeli citizens but we cannot deny our Palestinian identity. We noticed

the same feeling of helplessness among our Jewish friends, who felt that they were led to an unfair war, useless to their own people.

(Baraqa maintains that there is no conflict of interests between the Palestinian people and the Jewish people, as long as one is dealing with two nations who live peacefully side by side. But he adds that there is no hint of an attempt on the Israeli side to arrive at a solution to the Palestinian problem, thereby causing suffering to Jews as well as to Palestinians.)

Under the present conditions it is not Israel that needs to be recognized in this region. It is a lie that Israel needs to be recognized. Israel has been in existence for over 30 years and can defeat with its military might all the Arab countries around it. The ones who need recognition, who need a chance to live, are the Palestinian people.

The experience of the Jewish people several decades ago in facing the Nazi beast without any self-defense should have taught it that if it was not possible to destroy it then, it is not possible to destroy now the Palestinian people. In the face of the huge Nazi war machine the Jewish people continued to exist, and even establish its own state, without dealing with the tragic circumstances suffered by the Palestinian people. I am not comparing the two situations, but if there is a war between the State of Israel and the Palestinian people and its representative, the PLO, how can one talk about this experience of the Jewish past, about liquidation of the Palestinian problem?

Question: Will the war in Lebanon polarize the views and opinions of the Arabs of Israel?

Baraqa: I think the war in Lebanon will greatly complicate the dynamics of the relations between Jews and Arabs in Israel. This war can certainly bring about greater politicizing and sharpening of the national identity of the Arabs in Israel. One should point out that there has also been changes in the Jewish community. We do not have a monopoly on the struggle and the pain in the Jewish sector, since Jewish blood has also been spilled in this war. It seems to me that now more so than before Jews in Israel know that it is difficult to talk about peace smeared with blood. The struggle against the war is both Jewish and Arab. One should therefore find a formula for a joint Jewish-Arab struggle inside the State of Israel.

Elected By Whom?

Question: You have said that the PLO is the representative of the Palestinian people. This is a debated issue.

Baraqa: Neither Begin nor any other leader can decide who is the representative of the Palestinian people. One can ask a naive, neutral or malicious question, who has elected the PLO? Well, in the West Bank the mayors consider the PLO as their sole representative. All walks of the Palestinian community have representatives in the Palestinian National Council, that is, the PLO council. One could also ask who had elected the Haganah, the Irgun and the Lehi, when those organizations fought against the British?

Question: We hear from Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, that the PLO abandoned them and betrayed them, and continues to hold on to its extreme views and to demean itself among its own people.

Baraqa: It is a mistake to ask anyone on the street, whose life is in danger, to give clear political answers. The definition of the PLO as the representative of the Palestinian people is the result of the reality of a people without a country. Those Palestinian refugees can say whatever they want, they first have to live, and so they give an answer typical for anyone under bombardment. One should bear in mind that they are afraid of the Israeli army. They are also afraid of the Phalangists, one of the arms of the Israeli occupation. They speak about Lebanese patriotism, while they themselves represent Lebanese anti-patriotism.

The PLO Knows

Question: Why doesn't 'Arafat come out and say he fully recognizes the State of Israel, agrees to UN Resolution 242 and is willing to reach an agreement with Israel?

Baraqa: As far back as the 13th and 14th convention of the PLO council it was decided to establish a Palestinian state on any piece of land vacated by Israel. Abu Iyad himself, in his book "Without a Homeland," speaks about these resolutions and agrees with them. In his interview with Uri Avneri, 'Arafat spoke about recognizing Israel. 'Arafat has also signed all the UN resolutions that include Resolution 242. But any PLO resolution that hints at the possibility of a dialogue is played down in the Israeli press, while any PLO extremist who makes a statement is given front page coverage.

Question: How will the new committee conduct its struggle against the war in Lebanon? Why didn't we hear from you in the first month of the war?

Baraqa: Since the start of the war there were many meetings in every village, but the press did not talk about it. They refused to write about it. Besides, representatives of the Arab population demonstrated in the first demonstration against the war and in the Peace Now demonstration and took part in protest vigils. The new committee, as a voice of the Arab population in Israel, will plan its activities according to the conduct of the war in Lebanon. If there is an escalation there will also be an escalation of the struggle. But the struggle will be conducted within the law. Any type of legal struggle, including strikes, is taken into consideration.

Question: Are you planning a general strike?

Baraqa: The Israeli economy is based on Arab labor. How long can they overlook the murder of their brothers in Lebanon and continue to work for this economy? I sincerely hope we will not have to resort to the strike weapon. One should of course take into consideration the needs of our people, their livelihood. It should be recalled that many who have demonstrated at Land Day in 1976 were left without work.

Relatives in Lebanon

Baraqa emphasizes that he detests the use of arms by either side. "I did not justify the shelling of Kiriath Shmoneh, and I do not condone the use of cluster bombs in the refugee camps in Lebanon. Sixty percent of the people in the Galilee are Arabs. The government, speaking in their name as well when it went to war, victimized them and their relatives."

He does not want to sound fatalistic as he relates his personal experience following the war in Lebanon. The fact that he has relatives in Lebanon, in 'Ayn Hulwah and in Rashidiyah, personalizes the experience for him.

"When I went to visit my parents in Shefar'am," he says, "I asked my mother if she had heard anything about our relatives in Lebanon. My mother was surprised by the question, because of the tacit agreement among the Arabs in Israel, including my own parents, not to ask questions about relatives in Lebanon. They prefer not to ask and not to talk about it. The difficulty of dealing with the question how many of them are still living and how many have died has prompted this tacit agreement. I recall the chilling scene that I had witnessed when my uncle came from Lebanon last year for a visit in Israel. He and my father and other members of the family went to the village of Safra (Tzipori) to see what had remained of that village where my uncle lived, and where we had lived. We tried to find out where our own home had stood, where we had played...There were tears in our eyes." Baraqa does not know what has become of that uncle during the war.

The problem of the Israel Arabs, especially after the war in Lebanon, is rather complicated and keeps raising the term Baraqa refuses to accept--double identity. This term certainly does not evoke pleasant associations for Jews.

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CSO: 4423/199

SOURCES OF FINANCIAL AID TO WEST BANK DISCUSSED

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 23 Jul 82 p 25

[Article by Yosef Tzuriel: "Financial Cut-off from PLO Already Felt in Judea and Samaria"]

[Text] It is early to assess the extent of the severance of relations between the remnants of the PLO in Lebanon and in other Arab countries and the Arabs in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. But one does notice that the relations that have been nurtured during the last 4 years in order to minimize the dependence of the residents on the Israeli administration are weakening.

This refers to money. Lots of money. And to devious ways of getting it. Getting smart with the Israeli authorities in the area in order to get Arab funds. Pretending that there is no connection between the funds and becoming independent on the dictates of the PLO.

The villages heads in Mount Hebron may still recall the statement of the late Moshe Dayan in late 1967, in answer to the suggestion of Mayor Muhammad Ali Jabri to let the local Arabs take care of their own affairs. Dayan said: "We only have one government, and it will take care of everything."

It Is Hard to Be a Poor Ruler

Since then defense ministers have come and gone, military governors have been replaced, the Labor government is gone, and now the Likud is in power. But the budgetary difficulties of Judea, Samaria and Gaza have remained, and have even gotten worse. Those in charge with the local affairs have learned each year that it is hard to be a military ruler over a hostile population for a long time, especially when one is a poor ruler who keeps telling the local residents to make do with little.

A look at the budgets of the local government during the past 15 years shows what the Israeli administration has been able to give, what the demands of the local elected officials have been, and the subsequent turning to outside sources, that is, the PLO and its associates, either through a Jordanian-PLO committee, or an Arab country, or directly.

During the first year of Israeli presence in the territories, the regular budget of the municipalities added up to less than 10 millions liras. It grew 2 years later to 13.5 million liras. On the tenth anniversary of the military government the budget was 130 million liras. If the regular budget started out at that level, prior to the discovery of outside sources, then the development budget was quite minimal. Less than 10 million liras were approved in 1971 for the financing of some 70 projects. After 3 years 137 projects were approved, for which 22 million liras were allocated. In 1978, the year of transition from a limited budget to an expanded budget, thanks to support from the PLO and other Arab sources, 116 projects were approved, for which 99 million liras were allocated.

The Problems of Outside Help

The insistence of the Israeli government to make do with little might have remained in effect had it not been for the eagerness of several leaders and institutions in Judea and Samaria to break the barrier of the economic reality imposed on them. The credit of being the first goes to Hebron Mayor (deposed) Fu'ad Qawasma and deputy president of Bir Zeit University, Dr Gabi Barmaqi. Both, each in his own way, each in his place, identified the potential of the aid available from outside sources, namely, Jordan or even the United States, Libya and Algeria.

The Israeli authorities had problems with this issue. At first there was a prohibition of getting outside funds. Then it was overlooked. Then, 2 years later, the matter was brought up for discussion. When Ezer Weizman became minister of defense, he ruled that one could not stop money from coming into the territories, as long as it was not used for making bombs. At this time there is strict prohibition of receiving any funds from the PLO.

But between this decision and reality as it exists in the territories, there were, on the even of al-Sadat's arrival in Jerusalem huge sums of money, that are difficult to estimate. But it is clear beyond a shadow of a doubt that they are ten and twenty times bigger than any budget put at the disposal of the Arabs by the Israeli government at any given time.

In the area of outside aid, the Israelis always reserved a special treatment for King Husayn. But as the hostility toward the Hashemite kingdom grew in the area, a system of Arab aid to the residents of the territories grew. The Jordanians continued to help those they wanted to help. Those who were rejected or did not want to get too close to Amman have sought other sources of aid.

Thus, deposed Nablus Mayor Basam Shaq'a went as far as Libya and Algeria. Jericho Mayor 'Abd al-Aziz Suwayti went to Kuwait. Hebron Mayor Fu'ad Qawasma relied on Saudi Arabia and Abu Dhabi. Bethlehem Mayor Ilyas Furayj tried to have the best of both worlds. He did not turn down Amman, but also requested and received help from the oil Emirates.

The result was seen a short time later in the budgets of the local governments. For example: In 1978 Hebron received 33.5 million liras from outside

sources; Bethlehem 12.5 million liras; Ramallah 17.5 million liras; Janin 3.5 million liras; Nablus 57 million liras; Bir Zeit 1 million liras; Silwad 441 million liras.

A year went by when Arab sources reported that the joint Jordanian-PLO committee had made allocations to the local governments, namely, 22 million liras to Nablus; 12 million liras to Hebron; 9.5 million liras to Ramallah; 8 million liras to Janin and Tulkarm; 7.5 million liras to Jericho and Bethlehem; and 2 million liras each to the village councils.

The appearance of the Jordanian-PLO committee as an important financial factor among the Arabs of the territories did not cause a great upheaval in Israeli government circles. Everyone knew that it was established in order to put an end to the confusion in the area of fundraising in the Arab countries, as Fu'ad Qawasma once said, "We wanted to establish a united Arab appeal similar to the United Jewish Appeal, and this is the result."

This committee, a compromise between Jordan and the PLO as well as other Arab countries, had set the goal of raising \$150 million, pledged at the Baghdad Conference, and divide it among the Arabs of the territories according to an agreed list of allocations. This task was given to 'Adnan Abu 'Awdah, member of the Jordanian government, and PLO representative in Jordan, Hamad Abu Sita.

The Civilian Administrative Objects

Since then the committee has undergone a crisis of prestige and of foci of influence, arguments regarding deception, disagreements on the distribution of funds and other problems that have nearly paralyzed the committee. With Jordan making decisions about the distribution of funds, overruling the PLO, and with the prohibition against PLO funds, Israel has in effect helped Husayn keep his influence in the territories.

This prohibition, now a year old, has invited attempts to circumvent it. Thus, for example, Jordan was told to support leaders and institutions close to the PLO. There were also attempts, some successful, of bringing PLO funds into the territories without the help of Jordan.

Today a new situation prevails in the area. The mayors who are still in office are using the surplus from the time of prosperity. Thus, for instance, Ilyas Furayj of Bethlehem insists that during September his treasury will become empty. In Tul Qarm the situation is less critical, and Hilmi Hanun can end the year without a deficit.

For the civilian administration this poses a problem, as well as a challenge. It knows that even if the PLO is not routed it will not be able to continue its role as the financial patron of the Arabs of the territories. Hence the question: Will the cities be guaranteed their budget for running the vital services? The villages need not worry, since their services have been given a priority in the budgets of the Israeli authorities for Judea, Samaria and Gaza.

"Everything will be all right," the civilian administration officials insist. They add that "What was will not be again." That is, the amounts available to the cities in the territories before will not be available again. They will have to make do with less, live according to an approved budget, carry out vital development programs, pay for the rest with local taxes. It won't be too pleasant. It won't be too easy. But they won't have a choice. No more big sums. They will soon need small change.

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CSO: 4423/199

DEMOCRATIC WOMEN'S UNION SECRETARY VISITS ATHENS

Athens RIZOSPASTIS in Greek 4 Aug 82 p 10

[Text] "No more war. No more dead. No more wounded. Differences must be solved at the negotiation table, not with weapons." These are the words of Samira Khouri of the Union of Democratic Women of Israel, a broad organization with thousands of members which is fighting for peace since 1948, of which she is the secretary. In transit at Athens, Samira Khouri rushed to the offices of the Federation of Greek Women. There we met her yesterday morning. She spoke with horror about the Zionist invasion against the peoples of Palestine and Lebanon, expressing the views of her organization and the feelings of the women and the entire working class people of Israel as well. Of these people who, as Samira emphasized, "opened their eyes and saw that the war which at this moment is burning Lebanon is an unjust, aggressive war which has as its objective the disappearance of the Palestinian people and the extermination of the Lebanese progressive movement. This is done within the framework of the imperialist strategy of the USA. When Begin left for America, the airport overflowed with women who were demonstrating their opposition to the slaughter of the Palestinians. Mothers dressed in black took to the streets of Jerusalem with placards saying: "We want our boys to come back alive. The war must stop." "The Arabs and the Jews mourn their killed sons." "No more widows and orphans, the refugee flow must stop." Last week a large demonstration for peace also took place in Nazareth."

The peace movement in Israel is mushrooming. More than thirty groups of several members are working for peace in the entire country. One of these, the most numerous, is called "Peace Bridge" and has grouped hundreds of people, literary, artistic and scientific celebrities as well as unimportant working citizens and simple women, who until yesterday were apolitical and no-partisan and today have risen to demand: "Stop the war. We want peace. We want the rights of the Palestinian people recognized. The Israeli troops must withdraw from Lebanon and the occupied Syrian areas."

9731

CSO: 4621/491

KUWAIT PAPER CITES BENEFITS OF REAGAN PROPOSAL

GF051338 Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 5 Sep 82 p 6

[Editorial by Ahmad al-Jarallah: "Eisenhower-like Offer"]

[Text] Lack of commitment shown by any Arab country during the upcoming summit in FES must certainly be countered.

All the Arab heads of state are called upon to act seriously and adopt moderate trends as they represent the majority of people of the Arab world. It simply would not be fair if national decisions were to be hindered just because a country or two held different viewpoints from the rest. Such outcome would have adverse repercussions.

The most important case presented to the summit is the new-old American position.

It is new because America is keen to execute it and it will go to do so at a time of its choosing.

The Arab countries, if they accept the plan, will make America face Israel squarely.

Israel has refused the plan and hopes that the Arabs will reject it also, for then the Jewish state can go on executing its own plan of expansionism in the Middle East, also using its own timetable, moving on whenever external or internal circumstances are ripe.

If the Arabs--and the Palestinians--do not agree now, it will mean a return to the post 1948 era. For we will demand tomorrow what we have rejected today.

In its new proposition, the United States is rephrasing, in one way or another, what the last President Dwight Eisenhower had offered at the time of tripartite aggression on Egypt in 1956 (meant to restore Egypt as a pro-British satellite).

But the character of Eisenhower does not come with the new package and so the changes are that Reagan will be more productive. The Arab world may benefit from the chance given by Eisenhower in 1956 today.

KUWAIT

BRIEFS

BOYCOTT OFFICE ACTIONS--Kuwait, 30 Aug (KUNA)--Israel boycott office of the Kuwaiti customs administration Monday lifted some ships and companies from the blacklist and confirmed blacklisting of others for trading with Israel. The decision lifted the Panamean ship "Charis" which used to carry the name "Krios," the German ship "Seevetal" and the former British ship "Wild Mallard" which is now owned by the Greek mercantile under the name "Macedonian Reefer" from the blacklist. Blacklisting of the former British ship "Brathay Fisher" currently owned by Cyprus under the name "Haje Naime" and the Greek ship "Michalis" which now navigates under the name "Taxiarchis" has been confirmed. Sanctions continue to be imposed on the American company "Morse Electro Products Corp" and its subsidiary named "Pilot" and the British group known as "Guinness Peat Group Limited" and all its subsidiaries. The Kuwait boycott office decision authorised acceptance of the name "Les Nouveaux ets Simox" as a second name for the French Company "Simox S.A.," cancelled measures against the Canadian Company "International Nickel Company of Canada Limited" better known as "INCO LTD" and its American subsidiary "INCO Electro Energy Corporation" and banned entry of products of the Indian company G. P. Silk Mills and the toys produced by Qualidux Industrial Company limited of Hong Kong. [Text] [LD310224 Kuwait KUNA in English 1653 GMT 30 Aug 82]

CSO: 4400/463

BASHIR AL-JUMAYYIL INTERVIEWED

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic No 285, 7 Aug 82 pp 19-23

[Interview with Bashir al-Jumayyil, commander in chief of the Phalangist militia, by Ghassan Bayram: "I Will Not Make Peace With Israel Without the Approval of All the Lebanese"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Shortly before the Israeli invasion of Lebanon Shaykh Bashir al-Jumayyil (34 years of age) announced that he was a candidate for the post of president of Lebanon and thus aspired to be the successor to the current president, Mr Ilyas Sarkis, whose presidential term according to the constitution ends next 23 September. For a short while it seemed as if Lebanon's only concern was to elect a new president who would have the support both of all of the conflicting parties and all of those willing to make peace. At that time Mr al-Jumayyil, via AL-MUSTAQBAL, stated that he saw in himself the man who could save Lebanon from its crisis, rebuild democracy in Lebanon on firm and unshakable foundations, and achieve the dream which it has been impossible to achieve for almost 40 years in Lebanon--that is, real national unity which is both permanent and firmly anchored. This was before the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Bashir al-Jumayyil's candidacy appeared to be acceptable to many parties, not because of particular qualities which al-Jumayyil has, but rather because the Lebanese had reached a stage of such weakness, weariness, subjugation, and humiliation that they seemed to be saying to themselves: "Let anyone take over, as long as he gets us out of this mess." After the savage Israeli invasion, voices began to be heard here and there--the voices of people who previously had not objected to al-Jumayyil and the invading Israeli forces. In fact, there were voices which said: "Let us first of all see if the Republic of Lebanon itself survives, etc." AL-MUSTAQBAL relayed to candidate Bashir al-Jumayyil a number of these questions being brought up by people both about his person and his "ability" to take Lebanon out of its bad situation as well as about the young candidate's program for government in case he succeeds in taking over this difficult mission. Al-Jumayyil fully answered these questions. His answers betrayed the fact that he was optimistic to a high degree. They also showed that he visualizes Israel as leaving Lebanon sooner or later and that Lebanon will regain its health and its democracy in the near future. But the most provocative thing which emerged in the answers of al-Jumayyil was what he said about many basic factors in the Lebanese situation having changed since the invasion. However, he said that he would not make peace with the

occupiers unless all Lebanese agree that he should make peace with them. Here are AL-MUSTAQBAL's questions and the answers given to them by the candidate Bashir al-Jumayyil:

[Question] It is true that you decided to be a candidate before the Israelis entered Lebanon. However, at that time you were not being officially and seriously nominated as a candidate. But after the developments which have taken place, your candidacy has taken on certain political dimensions and become a more serious candidacy.

[Answer] The decision was taken months ago. But as for the dimensions which the candidacy has taken on, allow me to correct your question. It has not taken on greater dimensions because of the situation which emerged after Israeli forces entered Lebanon. It has taken on these greater dimensions because the date of the election is approaching and, whether these developments had occurred or not, my candidacy would have taken on its current dimensions.

[Question] But how do you assess people's reactions to the fact that you are continuing, as before, to put yourself up as a candidate for president?

[Answer] In my opinion, these reactions have been very positive. People whom we have expected to attack us have spared no efforts to do so, but their attacks have been less ferocious than we expected. This was as far as matters went. Those who campaigned against my candidacy were, in particular, Rashid Karami, Salim al-Huss, and Walid Junblat. Not many people went along with them in these positions and attacks of theirs. Lebanese Muslims adopted an approach of wait-and-see. I consider this to be something which is positive, in view of the attacks which have been mounted against me by the [Lebanese] National Movement and the Palestinian resistance organizations.

[Question] Do you not attribute these limited reactions and this policy of wait-and-see to the military situation created by Israel in Lebanon?

[Answer] What is there to prevent them from reacting more strongly? They are in the Lebanese national arena and they can adopt whatever position they choose to. In fact, they are hostages of the Palestinian resistance organizations and the leftists, and consequently if they wanted to go along with the National Movement, they could do so to a far greater degree than they have done.

[Question] What I meant to say was that the basic objection to your candidacy is not the fact that you are Bashir al-Jumayyil as such, but the fact that you are a candidate under the aegis of the Israeli military presence and that this candidacy of yours has been strengthened by this presence.

[Answer] My candidacy was announced before the Israelis entered Lebanon. I consider that my candidacy is something which will bring about the salvation of all of Lebanon.

[Question] But, on the other hand, before the Israelis entered Lebanon you were saying that the presidential election should not take place under the

aegis of a Syrian military presence. So how can one say that the election should take place under the aegis of an Israeli occupation?

[Answer] But, even so, it was under the aegis of the Syrian military presence that we decided that I should be a candidate. At that time we did not say "no," and we did not say that we would boycott the election.

[Question] But we notice that the persons who were nominated as candidates before Israeli forces entered Lebanon have now withdrawn their candidacy and that this happened after Israeli troops entered Lebanon and after you announced your candidacy.

[Answer] Do you believe that they have disappeared?

[Question] Perhaps they have disappeared behind the curtain, but it is said that the reason why they still do not appear on the stage is the military force which you have mustered in Lebanon.

[Answer] Your question is based on a false premise. It is easy to make accusations, and it costs nothing to do so. Let me say here and now that if even one of the deputies residing in our areas says that he has been subjected to any kind of pressure, then I am ready to immediately withdraw my candidacy. I am certain that this has not happened, and that this could not happen, because my candidacy would lose its meaning and purpose if we resorted to imposing it by force. I had hoped that some candidate would oppose me in this election so that the election would have a democratic atmosphere and would be in accordance with [democratic] principles and traditions. I would also like to add another remark which reflects a feeling that I have had as a result of my contacts with the deputies. As far as I have seen, none of them are prepared to tolerate intimidation and threats. In my opinion, any use of such methods will bring a negative reaction to those who use them. Our deputies are not the type who are impressed by "bluffing" or intimidation.

Not a Lottery, But Possibilities

[Question] You remember that we had an interview with you more than a month before the Israeli invasion. During that interview you said that you had already decided to be a candidate for president. The question now is: Do you believe that at that time you had the same chance to win the election that you do today?

[Answer] You know how presidential election campaigns proceed and you know that, 2 or 3 months before the election, no one can determine the nature of the campaign and the outcome which it will have. I do not know whether or not the Israeli occupation has changed people's attitudes. There is no way that I can know whether or not my chance to become president would have been better or worse if the Israeli military operation had not taken place. In fact, I do not like using the word "chance," because we here are not engaged in running a "lottery." We should be talking about the possibilities of success rather than about chances [for success]. I believe that the situation was moving in a given direction when I announced my candidacy.

We were making efforts to assume our responsibilities and deal with this candidacy in light of the situation and given factors which existed. This candidacy of mine still continues today, but it must deal with a changed situation. The position taken by the National Struggle Front, its leader Walid Junblat, and most of the deputies from al-Shuf, is the same as it was before the Israeli invasion. The same is true of the position taken by Sa'ib Salam. His position has been the same position after the Israeli operation as it was before this operation. The same is also true of the deputies from al-Matn and Kasrawan. I feel that the Israeli operation has not had much effect on the positions taken by the deputies. Those who were opposed [to me] are still opposed, and those who supported [me] are still supporters. So I do not sense any radical change as far as the convictions of the deputies are concerned. It is certainly true that, as far as the country's general situation is concerned, the Israeli military presence has imposed a new status quo on us and forces us, as Lebanese, to aspire to get rid of all [foreign] "presences" in Lebanon. We need leaders who are capable of achieving this and putting an end to the deterioration in the situation which is occurring in West Beirut and other areas.

[Question] Since the Israeli invasion began, there have been people who have made the accusation and said that you, as a political party and group, had prior knowledge that the Israelis would mount this operation. In fact, some of the actions which have occurred in Lebanon have made some people also say that this Israeli invasion took place in coordination with your party and group.

[Answer] [What actions], for example?

[Question] They say that you had [prior] knowledge of this operation and that it took place in coordination with you.

[Answer] The media have said that three-fourths of the members of the Israeli government did not know that the Israeli invasion was going to take place. If this is so, how could we know about it? Furthermore, where is all the coordination that you are talking about? I do not see anything unusual in this regard occurring in Lebanon. Was it necessary--in order for us to obtain our certificate of good behavior--that al-Hadath, Ba'abda, Kasrawan, and al-Ashrafiyah be destroyed for us to stop the brutal Israeli invasion? Why was it not stopped in al-Shuf, Jizzin, and the South? Also, I would like to remind you of the accusations which were being levelled at us and which asserted that as soon as the Israelis reached al-Damur we began closing in on West Beirut by means of a pincer movement or "accordion" movement. The fact is that the Israelis reached Beirut--not only al-Damur--and we did not move [against West Beirut] in spite of attempts to lure us [into doing so] by means of the bombardment which our areas were subjected to.

[Question] The thing which impelled us to ask this question is the fact that we have information according to which, some time ago, you warned some of the Arab nations and even warned Abu 'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat] personally that the Israeli attack would take place and passed on this warning by means of party delegations which had been sent to these Arab nations. According

to this information, you informed than that Israel, with the support of the U.S., would invade Lebanon.

[Answer] No, no. We did not have any particular information about this. We, like everybody else, heard that the chief of staff of the Israeli army, over Israeli television, announced the scenario of the invasion of Lebanon when he said that the whole thing began with an explosion in Acre which caused the death of some children, then Begin, who was very upset, offered his condolences [to the parents of the children], then Begin gave his orders to Sharon, the minister of defense, then Sharon gave his orders to Eitan, the chief of staff, and according to these orders the Israelis were going to launch a retaliatory attack and go into Lebanon.

We, on our part, considered this scenario to be a serious one and not a joke, and we treated it on this basis. When we made contacts with various Lebanese parties and our Arab brethren and friends, we asked them the following question: If this is an accurate assessment of the situation and if this hypothesis becomes a reality, what should we do?

I met with Abu al-Za'im for this purpose, asked him this very question, and asked him how he would feel if the Israelis came in and, for example, asked the people of al-Damur to return to their town. He asked me to wait a little while for him to relay these questions to Abu 'Ammar. But Abu 'Ammar did not appear to be very interested in the matter.

As for the Arabs [in the other Arab countries], they told us: "Let Israel do what it wants to do." Then they asked us: "What will you do?" We answered them: "We will stand behind President Ilyas Sarkis and support Lebanon's legitimate government in the shouldering of its responsibilities." And indeed, when the Israeli forces entered Lebanon, a liaison officer between the Lebanese army and the Israeli army was appointed by Ambassador Philip Habib. We had no prior knowledge, and I do not believe that anybody else had prior knowledge, of the Israeli operation. But sometimes one can read events as they are being hatched and attempt to forestall them.

[Question] There are those who feel that for you to become president would be tantamount to an upheaval in the balance of forces and concepts [concerning how Lebanon is to be ruled].

[Answer] It would not be an upheaval, it would be [merely] a change.

[Question] I am using the word "upheaval" in the sense that it would mean elimination of the 1943 [National Covenant] formula.

[Answer] No, I am not the one who will eliminate the 1943 formula. The ones who would eliminate the 1943 formula are those who right now are attempting to render ineffective the principles of parliamentary government and democracy and consequently are attempting to stop the presidential election. This is what I meant when I said that the danger to Lebanon's identity is greater than the danger to Lebanon's unity. I said this because Lebanon will be united, but what will be Lebanon's identity? This is the question.

We were, and still are, in favor of the [1943] covenant of co-existence, provided that the formula be modified somewhat so that we do not once again start killing each other off whenever there is some minor incident.

White? No. Black? No!

[Question] In that case, what modification do you feel should be introduced to the 1943 formula so that Lebanon, in the future, does not see a repetition of such events?

[Answer] Today, as soon as you say that something or other is white, somebody will come along and tell that it is black. We have many files and dossiers which deal with our ideas concerning reform in various fields. These files and dossiers will be presented to the Lebanese government which is appointed constitutionally and according to [democratic] principles and which will represent Lebanon's politically-active groups and intellectual trends. Within the framework of this responsible government, all of these changes will be discussed. If I show all of my cards today in order to please this or that person, they will then tell me that this is not sufficient. If I tell you that we want Lebanon to be an Arab country and a member of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front, somebody will then criticize this and reject it. When we said that we were against the armed Palestinian presence and in favor of the civilian [Palestinian] presence, but under the sovereignty of law, we saw the Muslims get all excited and say to us: "How can we continue to keep 500,000 Palestinians in Lebanon?"

Right now we are not in a position of responsibility where we have to make decisions. When a responsible government does exist, it will then discuss all of these matters and formulate all of the changes and new reforms agreed upon.

[Question] In previous interviews you have said that if a president is not elected, then Lebanon's identity will change. Could you please clarify and explain this remark for us?

[Answer] What this means is that if Israeli forces go into Beirut and then to the Biqa' Valley and North Lebanon, then Lebanon will be united under a single authority, even though it will be an occupation authority. This will mean that one single authority will be in power from al-Niqurah to al-'Aridah. But, what is the Lebanon which will have been united (in this manner), what regime will rule Lebanon, and where will the Lebanon of the Lebanese be?

[Question] Do you mean to say that if the election does not take place, this will be a justification for Israeli forces to occupy all of Lebanon?

[Answer] I am not linking these two things. I am only saying that if Israeli forces enter Beirut--whether we have an election or not--and if they then enter Biqa' Valley and North Lebanon--whether we have an election or not--and occupy 10,452 square kilometers [of Lebanese territory], what do we do with them?

[Question] Is it possible for your election to prevent this from happening?

[Answer] If the Lebanese can come to an agreement, they will be capable of preventing many things from happening. We would then be able to convince the Palestinians that we have had enough [trouble because of them]. We would be able to convince our fellow-Arab brethren and friends to withdraw the Deterrent Force from Lebanon. All of us Lebanese would also be able to come to an agreement concerning rejecting the Israeli occupation and telling everyone that we want to be allowed, with our Lebanese nation and our Lebanese army, to regain full sovereignty and authority in Lebanese territory. If the Lebanese can come to an agreement, this will guarantee all of this. This is what we did in 1943 when we came to an agreement and consequently expelled France from Lebanon and defended our borders. And today such an agreement can also guarantee the unity of Lebanon and the maintenance of its identity.

[Question] But there is a group from the other side who believe that the agreement must be completed before the election and not after.

[Answer] Have they ever met with us and talked along these lines, and have we ever said no to them? We hope to reach agreement before the election. In fact, we should have reached agreement 8 years ago rather than today.

[Question] Do you consider your candidacy to be a candidacy of Lebanese accord or a candidacy of [provocative] challenge, as the other side has pictured it?

[Answer] It is a candidacy of Lebanese national accord. All the positions which we have adopted since the initiative which we announced on the occasion of the anniversary of the founding of the Phalangist Party, on 29 November 1981, and all of the positions which have resulted from [this initiative], affirm the fact that this candidacy and all of the steps which have been taken [in connection with it] have been conciliatory steps to enable us to reach the necessary national agreement.

[Question] There is something which Shaykh Pierre al-Jumayyil is always saying, which is: "You should never tell a Lebanese not to be afraid. It is up to him [to know] not to be afraid." Your candidacy for president has created a state of fear among the Muslims, among your ideological opponents, and perhaps also among those who represent the traditional political system which has ruled Lebanon ever since 1943. How can you dispel all of these fears?

[Answer] As for fears felt by our ideological opponents, this is only natural. There are ideological conflicts in any country. What I hope is, for example, that the Communist Party will send Muhsin Ibrahim and George Hawi to the Chamber of Deputies to "pick fights" in the parliament instead of "picking fights" in the streets. I hope that we will have a true democratic system under which everybody will attain his rights, regardless of any consideration, pressure, or repression. As for the fear felt by those associated with the traditional political system, I would like to make it clear that, by means of contacts which I have made with the deputies, I have seen that their views are not so far from our views and that, in the final analysis, we speak the same language. The difficulty is that the

system has not been soundly applied and practiced in order to enable all of us to play the full role which we were supposed to play. I have made contacts with a number of deputies, and every one of them has told me: "My friend, what we want is salvation and an end to this situation." Perhaps they were saying this just to go along with me, or perhaps they were telling the truth. I do not know what their real intentions were. But the fact is that I have not yet come across a single deputy who has a difference of opinion with me concerning the essential things which we are demanding in terms of change, in terms of the Chamber of Deputies playing its full role, in terms of democracy taking on all of its true dimensions, and in terms of an authority capable of administering democracy, as it should be administered, being at the head of our government and at the top of the pyramid. Before entering this election campaign I personally perhaps had a cautious attitude toward these deputies and politicians as a result of the ideas which I had acquired concerning them. And perhaps they too had the same sort of ideas concerning me. But by means of establishing contacts I have discovered how they really are and they have discovered how I really am, and I believe that together we are capable of saving Lebanon.

The Candidate of All of Lebanon

[Question] Perhaps one of the basic reasons why your candidacy aroused these feelings is the fact that the country, whether under normal or abnormal circumstances, has been used to seeing the presidential election take place within the framework of particular guidelines--that is, the president is elected on the basis of some degree of agreement between Muslims and Christians, otherwise the election will be a clear provocation on one side or the other.

[Answer] I do not want to be the representative or candidate of a single group. I want to represent all of Lebanon, and I want to be the candidate of all of Lebanon.

[Question] But, in the final analysis, you are Bashir al-Jumayyil, the product of a particular political and party tradition, and you have been one of the basic parties involved in the crisis. How then can you separate the Bashir al-Jumayyil who represents one of the parties involved in the crisis from Bashir al-Jumayyil the candidate or the president of the republic?

[Answer] When you are head of a militia, circumstances oblige you to take actions as the head of a militia, and perhaps your actions will be successful. When you are the chief of state, your actions are those of a chief of state. and perhaps they will be successful. During the war in Lebanon I was not obliged to take actions as a chief of state. If I become president, then it will be necessary for me to take actions as a chief of state. Life does not stand still, and each one of us undergoes many changes in his mind, mentality, thinking, actions, methods of doing business, and ways of dealing with others. I, like others, have gone through my share of experiences and suffering. Other candidates also have their involvements and have gone through their share of experiences, and they have not come down from the moon in a mould which is ideal for serving as president of the republic. Even if I become

president, I, as a person, cannot forget that my daughter was killed and I cannot forget how she was killed. I cannot forget that thousands of martyrs died for the sake of a cause for which I fought alongside them. So when one of us becomes president, those previous sufferings and bitter experiences should serve as a source of moral strength and background to enable him to know how to avoid causing the death of all of these martyrs and victims in the future and how to govern the country in such a manner as to avoid new tragedies and more killing. Any president will necessarily carry with him [the memory] of his own suffering and experiences. We have come through a tough school, and furthermore I would like to ask the following question: After World War II, who took over the governments of all of the nations which had been in this war? Were they not all men who had undergone bitter experiences and suffering? Such experiences and suffering are, in the final analysis, a rich source and wealth of experience for a person, they illuminate his path toward achieving better things, and they help him to rise above all petty sensitivities and differences.

An Army and a Cause

[Question] We have recently heard the slogan "a strong government requires a strong ruler." Do you consider that your candidacy is based on the premise of strong military rule or on the premise of a government which is strong by virtue of its program and its [strong] will?

[Answer] In my opinion, a strong government is one which is strong by virtue of its democracy, its institutions, its decisions, and its ability to implement these decisions through its institutions. This is what I call a strong government. A strong government is one which has an army which knows who its enemy is and knows what its cause is. In the case of our army the identity of the enemy has not been determined and it has not been provided with a cause. In my opinion, a strong government has the role of determining this cause and establishing the institutions which will defend it. This is in addition to all of the other true democratic practices and actions which we have been talking about. In my opinion, we are capable of building a nation which has a strong democracy and whose citizens will be strongly united. A strong government is also one which embodies the will and aspirations of its citizens by means of the decisions and positions taken which are really put into practice. It is a government which is capable of putting the will of public opinion into practice, under the aegis of a strong army and strong institutions which implement this will.

[Question] There is another slogan which has been circulating, and which calls for "the establishment of a national army." What is your concept of a national army?

[Answer] There will be a national army when there is a responsible government which takes decisions and when this army will be in a position to implement such decisions. It is not necessary for a national army to rig an election or to hand out gun permits to people, nor is it necessary for such an army to mobilize people to cheer for the president every time he goes to visit some place. I personally, for example, remember the deputy elections

which took place in 1968, when I was 20 years old. At that time I was entrusted with the job of driving voters from Beirut to Zahlah in my car. They told me to draw a picture of an apple on the front windshield of my car. When we arrived in al-Mudayrij, I was astonished to see that there were cars which had been held up whereas there were other cars which were being passed through easily and quickly. Every car that had a picture of an apple on it passed through easily, whereas it was difficult for the cars which had no pictures of apples on them to pass through. I remember this experience personally, and I used to ask why there was this discrimination among people. If I become president, this will not be allowed and this will not happen. I will not allow the army to take such actions and engage in such practices. These are things which should not be allowed to be repeated in Lebanon. A real national army is an army whose mission is to defend the nation's borders and to protect us from all of those who wish ill on our country. It is an army which really will be a wall to protect the nation.

[Question] The country today is in such a situation that it requires the taking of major steps and decisions in order to provide the national establishment with the necessary momentum in order to be able to carry out its tasks at the present time. Do you have any particular ideas in this regard?

[Answer] The first step which is necessary to take is to make sure that no armed presence remains in Lebanese territory other than the legitimate Lebanese presence. This requires the elimination of all non-legitimate presences and forces. The second step is to make sure that the army is in a position where it does not have to ask permission from anyone in order to enter any area of Lebanon. Nothing destroys the morale of an army more than when its soldiers see their commanders negotiating with the strongman of some area or other in order to gain permission to enter that area. The third step is to have all Lebanese who wish to fight for Lebanon and defend Lebanon do so within the framework of the army rather than within the framework of their party organizations. These emergency party organizations were established during the war because each one of us wanted to fight for the sake of Lebanon in his own way. But there is a single institution called the army which is the only framework within which all Lebanese should fight who want to fight for and defend Lebanon. I hope to see the disappearance of this exceptional situation which was brought on by the [civil] war. The army must once again play its basic role, with its head held high, and it should not be continuously stabbed in the back from all sides.

[Question] But you are entering the presidential election campaign with numerous slogans, including the slogan of "change."

[Answer] No. I am entering the campaign under a single slogan, which is "the salvation of Lebanon."

[Question] In any case, the way we see it is that your candidacy for the presidency, in itself, represents a process of change. What change do you believe is necessary after all of Lebanon's long suffering?

[Answer] First of all we should engage in the process of the salvation of Lebanon, and then we can start making the necessary changes. You cannot

change something which today no longer exists. What change can one effect if all of the illegitimate occupations and armed "presences" remain in Lebanon? First of all we must save the country and restore our national sovereignty, and then change will automatically follow.

Experience and Reassurance

[Question] Before the [civil] war, Lebanese Muslims were complaining about their lack of participation [in Lebanon's political life]. Today we see that the Muslims are still complaining about this, and they are also afraid. What plans do you have to eliminate these apprehensions on their part?

[Answer] It is not sufficient for me to tell Lebanese Muslims: "Do not be afraid." What I want is for them to actually not be afraid. But in order for them not to be afraid, they have to see what my actions are. This is the way I can reassure them. In Lebanon we have had the experience [of ruling and administering] 2,000 square kilometers of territory. It is this experience which we are today offering to all of the Lebanese. We are offering them our words, our positions, our statements, and all of the premises according to which we have proceeded. So far I have not had the Muslims participate with us in order for them to be reassured about me. Someday I hope to engage in this experience with them so that they really will be reassured. There are matters which, if there is no atmosphere of trust among us as Lebanese, will force us to remain in front of a wall which we will not be able to penetrate. What we need above all is a minimum of affection and trust so that we can overcome many of these barriers and obstacles. But if we continue to conduct our affairs as we are doing today, we will remain within the circle which we have put ourselves in--that is, a vicious circle--until God sees fit to let us out of it.

[Question] The real problem is that we are in a situation where we are at the threshold of a new republic and a new regime. There are numerous types of democracies in the world. How do you visualize the nature of this new Lebanese democratic regime and this republic, in terms of all of its basic outlines?

[Answer] Above all, it should have personal freedom, freedom of conviction, the sanctity of individual ownership, and should remain a liberal regime. Within this framework it should have a truly equal and equitable tax system, should develop our national wealth within the framework of integrated and comprehensive planning, and should adopt a parliamentary system which allows our deputies actual participation in administering the affairs of the government and the country. Such a regime should play a more comprehensive role as a controlling authority and a legislative authority. Also, there should be more interaction between the various branches of government and government institutions. The time has come for us to put behind us the system which is based on those belonging to the so-called "ruling elite." Why do we have this ruling elite? This nation is supposed to be for everybody, its government is also supposed to be for everybody, and not only for the people in the regime or for a particular family, party, or sect. If we can actually

put these ideas into effect--and I believe that we are capable of doing this--we really will have been able to do something for Lebanon's advancement and will enable Lebanon to play a pioneering role among the advanced and civilized nations.

[Question] Some of these ideas require amendment of the constitution.

[Answer] The constitution is not something which was handed down from heaven. If amendment of the constitution is required, the Chamber of Deputies has the right to make such amendments in accordance with principles stipulated by the constitution itself.

[Question] "Democracy" is a word which means many things, and there are many patterns of democracy. Would it be better for us to have the U.S. or the British type of democracy? Or do you perhaps have in mind a system which is a combination of these two types of democracy?

[Answer] Right now I cannot say which is the type we prefer or which type of system we should choose, because we are not going into a supermarket to buy some sort of democratic regime which is canned, dried, and usable until such-and-such a date. Democracy is not like this. It is the result of practice and experience. It is tantamount to daily discoveries which come with practice and experience. Above all it means loyalty [to the democratic system]. For example, if I were president of the republic and either I or one of my assistants broke the law, I or this assistant should be tried before a court. Democracy is not patterns of government which we study in books and then put into practice. Democracy is the result of the needs of the nation and its people, and complying with these needs. Democracy is something which is different in different countries and among different peoples.

Lebanon's Arab Identity Affirmed

[Question] How do you, as a candidate for president of the republic or as the [future] president of the republic, visualize Lebanon's role as an Arab country curing the phase following this war and this crisis?

[Answer] I reject the premise of this question because, as far as we are concerned, there should be no such question. It is as if, by means of this question, you are attempting to question [Lebanon's] identity. [I reject the question] because Lebanon is an authentic member of the League of Arab Nations. In fact, Lebanon was one of the League's founding members. Our membership in the Arab world should not be something concerning which doubts should be raised, especially with regard to our relations with the Arab nations. We are a part of this Arab world, we have a role to play in it, and we are a significant nation in the Arab world, just as we are a significant nation and have a role to play in the whole world as such. Perhaps this role has been shattered during the last 8 years and this has provided us with a bad image, giving the impression that anyone can act toward us however he wished to. But I cannot regard as brothers such people who have acted this way toward us because these have not been the actions of brothers.

We are prepared to reach an understanding with all Arabs on an equal footing. Those Arabs who want to violate our sovereignty, freedom, rights, and borders will meet with a response in kind on our part. What I am trying to say is that our windows face the Arab world and we [wish to] deal with this Arab world without any complexes. We will be friends with those who are friendly toward us, we will be brothers to those who are like brothers to us, we will be hostile toward those who are hostile toward us, and we will fight those who fight us. We will deal with the Arab nations without any complexes of any sort. We are prepared to treat everybody as they treat us.

[Question] At first you came out with the slogan "we are against any Palestinian presence in Lebanese territory." But now your slogan is "we are against the armed Palestinian presence in Lebanon." How is it possible to bring an end to the armed Palestinian presence, how is it possible to deal with the Palestinian presence as a whole, and what approaches will you follow when doing this?

[Answer] We have never had the slogan "no Palestinian civilians will remain in Lebanon." When we were invited to al-Ta'if to discuss the possibility of participating in the process of having the Palestinians leave Lebanon with dignity, we agreed to this on the condition that no armed Palestinian presence--not even a nominal armed Palestinian presence--remain in the country. But as far as non-armed civilian Palestinians who fled their country are concerned, we welcome them on the condition that they accept the authority of Lebanese law and Lebanese sovereignty while they await the solution to their problem so that they can return to their country.

[Question] Do you think that Israel is prepared, in the final analysis, to leave Lebanon without exacting a price and that Israel, at this time, will not attempt to exploit its occupation of Lebanon in order to achieve its old dreams of partitioning [Lebanon], gaining a source of fresh water [from Lebanon], or establishing a series of petty sectarian states [in Lebanese territory]?

[Answer] You should address this question to all those who, at the expense of Lebanon, shouted so much about the causes of the Arabs and the Palestinians. But since you have addressed this question to me, I say to you that Israel should leave Lebanon, and I believe that the Israeli forces will leave Lebanon. Of course, Begin and Sharon are not pupils in [a school belonging to] a religious order or brotherhood, nor are they members of the Mar Mansur Charity Association. The Israelis mounted this large-scale operation in Lebanon, have paid a price for doing so, and their army suffered certain losses. I do not believe that they will simply leave Lebanon [right away]. It will be up to the new Lebanese government to come up with a way of dealing with and getting rid of this occupation.

I Will Not Make Peace [With Israel] Alone

[Question] The other particular question which we want to ask is the following: Are Israeli officials bringing up the matter of signing a peace treaty with Lebanon without taking into consideration the fact that this

matter is something which is premature? And how will the new Lebanese republic, especially if you are its president, confront and deal with this matter? Is it possible that Lebanon will become another "Egypt"?

[Answer] Why this comparison and why the question about Lebanon becoming another "Egypt"? We as Lebanese must decide our own affairs and determine our policy ourselves, apart from any comparison [with other countries] and complications. We have to classify ourselves in accordance with what and how we are rather than according to how others see us. Basic changes in our thinking are going to take place after this destructive war. Lebanon is going to have to be itself. Otherwise it will once again be blindly subservient to others. Lebanese sovereignty means that our policy must be a Lebanese one and must be inspired by our Lebanese interests. Today you are asking me whether or not I would accept a peace treaty with Israel. Allow me to tell you that these matters are matters which are very premature because none of us knows how the situation is going to develop nor on what basis it will develop. The only thing I can tell you is that there will be no unilateral action on my part when dealing with this matter. Furthermore, no other Lebanese would be able to make such a decision [alone]. This decision has to be a nation-wide one, and it has to emerge from a very broad Lebanese consensus under the aegis of our democratic system. I would also like to say that Lebanon is a small nation which cannot tolerate half of it being cut off or more than half of it being subjected to occupation. We cannot do without 'Alayh, Jizzin, the South, and al-Shuf--not even for a short period of time. We want to regain this territory. When the time comes to deal with these matters and to take a decision concerning them, we will decide what the best way is to deal with them without subjecting Lebanon to more internal jolts or causing part of Lebanon to be lost. The important thing is that Lebanon's future remain subject to the will of the Lebanese.

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SOCIALIST PARTY LEADERS INTERVIEWED ON CURRENT ISSUES

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[Article by 'Adah Ushpiz: "King of Poor in the Shuf Mountains; In the Feudal Estate of the Junblat Family Are the Headquarters of the Socialist Party that Supports the Palestinians and Does Not Want the Phalangists or the IDF in Lebanon"]

[Text] "As the political solution keeps looming on the horizon, the negotiations in Beirut become more and more dangerous. It is no wonder that as the political solution approaches, the danger of armed conflict increases. The Israeli enemy and the Palestinians keep exchanging fire. The latter want to prove their resistance to the Israeli occupation, despite the risks involved, while the Israelis cannot resist the temptation of showing their muscle as the victorious enemy. They seek to buttress their image as a fascist war machine, bent on destroying a country and a people."

This position, expressed in such blunt words in the last issue of the paper of the Progressive Socialist Party of Walid Junblat, AL-ANBA', is like a slap in the face to anyone who has been travelling in the Shuf region, trying to talk to the local residents despite the wall of cold amenities and formal smiles. Women and children wave to the passing Israeli car, as do people all over Lebanon. After years of civil war they have learned to let a foreign army go by, not be dragged into a conflict, not become a victim of the charged atmosphere. Still, from time to time you come across a piercing, suspicious look, resenting your presence.

In the small towns and the commercial centers of the villages, storekeepers come out whenever a strange car stops by. They approach you with a curious gaze, and give you directions if asked. Unlike other regions of Lebanon, like Tyre or Sidon, where there have been heavy bombardments and direct, crushing Israeli occupation, the Druze do not go out of their way to help you. They do not volunteer to ride with you to your destination with the kind of excitement that becomes over-solicitation. They will tell you how to get to Dir El Qamr, answer your questions about the occupations of the local residents and the kinds of vegetables they grow, but the moment you ask them any political questions, they give you the familiar smile and raise their hands as if to say, 'Who am I to talk about politics?' All I have is a little store and that is all I am involved in."

Those who do engage in a conversation resort to familiar slogans and phrases. Their reserve, however, does not conceal their pent up emotions, hidden from strangers. The closed character of the Druze society, the sacred hierarchy of their families and the authority of their leaders free the individual from taking a stand vis-a-vis the outside world. The Druze does not demean himself when he parrots the slogan about a strong, independent and united Lebanon, and denies the clash between Druze and Christian. He tries to convince you in a cynical way. He lets his leaders quibble about the nuances. He is loyal to his group. He speaks in the context of the general struggle, decided from above, and does not evade the issue because of fear. They tell you that the Druze decided not to fight Israel because the Druze spiritual leadership did not see a chance of winning, not because of hesitation or fear.

Political Estates

When you leave behind you the people crowding in the street, and go up to the homes of the rich, you find out that the spiritual and political leadership of the Druze leaves ample room for maneuvering to the local rich families. Each is free to expound its own version of the Druze policy. In Hasbayya, a town on the verge of the 25 mile security zone, declared by Israel as an area from which there will be no withdrawal for the time being, the local politics are geared toward one goal: To give the lie to the picture painted by Israel, not to admit to anything that may justify the Israeli military presence in the area, and to try to avert the evil decree without unduly upsetting the Israelis.

On the edge of town, at the highest spot, you find the home of Najib Shamas, a rich land owner, the head of one of the two clans that founded Hasbayya 900 years ago. He is known to be close politically to the leader of the leftist front in Lebanon, Walid Junblat. In one of the many rooms of his home on the second floor there is a picture of Junblat next to a picture of Nasr. But his tune differs from that of Junblat himself. It is more vague and more diplomatic. Shamas is middle height and corpulent, wears glasses, his sleek black hair is carefully combed, his face swollen, loose skinned. He shuffles one of his feet because of Parkinson's. The whole town of Hasbayya stretches at the foot of his home. After we start talking various people began to parade through the room--post office workers, electric and telephone workers, local officials, the local reporter of AL-NAHAR. They sit down and listen carefully.

Shamas speaks easily, choosing his words like an experienced politician, yet not without humor and charm. He has to resort to his wit in order to evade uneasy questions. His friends contribute little to the conversation. They listen with an open mouth, yet some appear bored. Some keep changing expressions, from a poker face to an embarrassed smile. Their expression seem to indicate when Shamas was able to get around a sensitive question, when he deviated from the familiar party line, and when he managed to give a hint of the anger and insult the Druze feel toward the Israeli occupation.

"There is no serious sectarian problem in Lebanon," Shamas insists. "I do not understand why every Israeli who come here keeps digging for differences among

the Druze, the Christians and the Muslims. We do not have any more sectarian problems than you do in Israel. We are all Lebanese. You are the ones who create the problem, when you say to us, You are a Christian, you are a Druze, you are a Muslim. Sometimes it seems to us that our internal conflicts are convenient for you. We do not need anyone to solve our problems."

"Are you saying that Israel is using the sectarian conflicts in Lebanon and over-emphasizes them in order to divide and rule?"

"God forbid," says Shamas with a straight face and a hint of a smile. "We just don't understand why you keep harping on this subject. Our main problem today is the presence of foreign armies on our soil. Anyone who bears arms and comes to Lebanon without a passport is our problem. When the Israelis first came to Lebanon we were happy at first, for we believed Israel wanted to get rid of the Syrian and Palestinian presence and help us establish a free Lebanon. Now we hear that Israel plans to stay within the 25 mile zone. In Rashayyah the IDF soldiers disarmed the Lebanese soldiers. This is sad and worrisome. We get the impression that Israel has negative intentions in regard to Lebanon."

"Don't you have any problems with the Phalangists? Are you happy with the sectarian hierarchy that puts the Christians in power in disregard to their relative weight in the population?"

His face hardens. "This is an internal problem. We will find a way of solving it after the Israelis and the others leave."

"And if Israel continues to support Bashir Jumayyil, the Phalangist leader, as the candidate for president of Lebanon in order to ensure a strong independent Lebanon, will you be satisfied?"

Somebody bursts out laughing, as if about to bring down the house of cards that has been carefully constructed during the past half an hour. Shamas slouches in his chair and smiles. "The Jumayyil family is a Lebanese family. It has done a great deal for Lebanon. But since the outbreak of the civil war Jumayyil is not popular with the majority--both Muslim and Christian, and Israel only stands to lose from giving him the presidency."

The conversation goes on. Shamas keeps playing with words and phrases. He does not bother to clear up contradictions in his statements, and expects me to read between the lines. He believes in the just cause of the Palestinians. He believes it is in the interest of both the Israelis and the Palestinians to find a solution for the Palestinian problem and to establish a Palestinian state. It is not possible to scatter 4 million Palestinians in foreign countries. It is certainly not possible to kill all of them. As long as Israel fails to deal with the Palestinian problem in a just way there will be no peace. He believes the West Bank and Gaza can be a good place for a Palestinian state. He says it quietly, like one who is saying something his listener does not want to hear. But in the same breath he says that he hopes the Palestinians will be honorable and will save Beirut by preferring a political solution to the destruction of the city, and will leave Lebanon. Where

will they go to? He has no answer. With a flushed face and speaking louder and more intensely than before he says, "I hope that the day will come when I will be among those who applaud you when you leave my country." There is a round of laughter loosening the tension and trying to soften the harsh tone of the words just spoken.

The Lebanese Mosaic

The ferment in the Druze villages from Hasbayya up the Shuf Mountains is not evident at first sight. Its standard bearers are the supporters of the Junblat family, pitted against those families that support the Arslan clan that wishes to leave the key positions in the country in Christian hands. When the Arslans try to explain their position they argue that they wish to ensure the welfare of the Christians, who are a minority in the Arab world, so that they should not be tempted to turn to the West or to Israel. This is how they hope to ensure the independence of Lebanon. In actual fact, the Arslans support the West.

Yet the discussion between the two factions is not only in regard to the pro-Western attitudes of Lebanon and pro-Arab. The main issue is social reform and doing away with the sectarian structure of Lebanese society. This idea frightens the Christians and their supporters, who are afraid of Shiite domination, being the largest and most backward sect in Lebanon.

The Druze, who are a minority of 6 percent in Lebanon, are caught in a class and political hierarchy. Like all other sects in Lebanon, they are part of a sectarian fabric that embraces all of Lebanon. Each family has its own place in this fabric, decided by rigid historical traditions, family loyalties, feudal dependency, pedigree, wealth, influence and location in the fixed mosaic of the state. It is almost impossible to change one's place.

This also applies to the leftist front in Lebanon that has been established by Kamal Junblat. In certain respects it could be seen as different from the fixed structure, and as an attempt to establish a structure on an ideological basis, unifying Druze, Christians and Muslims. But it was not able to break away from the clan structure and it is dominated completely by the Junblat family. The lower echelons in the Progressive-Socialist Party (mostly families traditionally close to the Junblats) see Walid Junblat as the leader. They worship him. Some of them say with naive pathos, that they would lay down their lives for him. His 300-year-old home, towering over Mukhtarah, in the heart of the Shuf Mountain region, and his great wealth, do not bother his followers, who believe in socialism. "This is the home of all of us," they say. "We can come here whenever we want. Or they may smile apologetically and give the familiar answer, "And what if he sells the house? Should he live in a tent? What will that do?"

The alliance between the Palestinians and the other leftist parties and the Progressive-Socialist Party headed by Junblat has made the Druze into an important factor in the process of the social polarization in Lebanon since the beginning of the seventies, and has given them political power beyond their relative number in the population. The centers of powers are not only

in the Arslan and Junblat families, but also in the religious leadership in 'Amtur, divided between the house of 'Abd Samad, who supports the Arslans, and Majid Shaqr, who supports the Junblats.

Majid Shaqr, tall, thin, blue eyes, mischievous yet aloof look, seems to be a typical religious leader with great authority. His slow, noble gestures, his alert face and restrained smile create an aura of respect on the part of those who surround him and kiss his hand.

A broad square and high steps lead up to his house. His close aides and his son welcome us at the top of the stairs. In a soft yet firm voice he tells me to cover my head with a kerchief and not shake the hands of the men. The room across the way is full of men who seem to tiptoe and huddle in small groups, coming and going. In a living room with a large red carpet I am told to wait for the religious leader. One of his aides signals to me not to cross my legs. Later on I find out that during the restrained exchange of words in the adjacent room it was agreed that day on a general business strike in the Shuf region as a protest for the removal of the Lebanese Army in Bayt Ad-Din by the IDF and its replacement with the Phalangists. The leaflets that were distributed the next day in the Druze villages condemned "the acts of pillage of the Phalangists under the Israeli occupation."

Shaykh Majid Shaqr has his own way of presenting the situation. He sounds like someone who is giving a statement to the press. The first thing he does he shows his objectivity and his neutrality, but immediately goes on to accuse the Phalangists who, he says, have taken positions in the area and are harassing the Druze whom they have blacklisted because they belong to the left. They have set up road blocks and they charge residents passing through 250 Lebanese liras. He says one day before my visit a Druze was asked to pay 1000 liras. "Israel encourages the Phalangists," he says, with a cold light in his eyes. "We don't care what the reasons are. The Lebanese army is our legitimate army. If Israel wants to replace it let her bring her own army. If they force the Phalangists on us, we will not be able to stop the deterioration."

He is not too anxious to talk about the Palestinians. "We have and we continue to support the Palestinian cause, but not any particular leaders," he says. He believes that Palestinians were expelled from their own country, and this is a humane problem that must be resolved. How? By a mutual recognition between the PLO and Israel, and direct talks. Perhaps they will agree on a bi-national state, or a Palestinian state on the West Bank and in Gaza. This is their affair, "but the problem cannot be overlooked," he says and watches my reaction. "What is the fault of the Palestinian children? Even if their parents have sinned, why do they have to suffer?" He sits up straight almost in an unnatural posture, his fingers crossed over his robe. His smile signals the end of the interview. He nods goodbye. If I were a man I would shake his hand. After he goes out the hushed talks continue. His son, a middle aged man who appears ill at ease, says to me, "The Palestinians are not our problem."

A Christian journalist, a big talker who is constantly hopping about, joins the conversation. "I'll tell you why people keep blaming the Palestinians.

They have done awful things in Lebanon. Their cause is just, but not mature enough. Besides, you have to understand that their people are backward. They are refugees. What can you expect from people who have nothing but squalor? They do not have the education or the political experience to deal with their problems."

He keeps gesturing as he talks, revealing old prejudices regarding the Palestinians, as well as feelings of superiority which is also typical of those who support them. He uses racial arguments common among the Phalangists, not only in regard to the Palestinians, but in regard to the Muslims in general. "I once spoke to George Habash," he says excitedly. "I told him, look, with these people you want to make a revolution? Uneducated, unmannered disorganized people who don't take a bath? One cannot make a revolution if one has body odor! If you give an uneducated person a rifle he becomes a criminal. This is what's happening to the Palestinians."

He quickly forgets the Palestinians and entertains us with stories about Ariq Sharon, who is the most popular topic of conversation in Lebanon these days. "Believe me," he says, "Lebanon needs a strong man like Ariq Sharon. Even if you pay us, we will not take him from you. He is yours. I don't dislike anyone more than I dislike this man." He pauses, as if he said more than he intended to. He blushes, as if surprised by his own bluntness.

This Is How It Is in a Revolution

The PLO has made many mistakes, you will hear from young people at Junblat's home in Mukhtarah. But the Israelis exaggerate in order to cover up the actions of the Christians and their killings. The gravest mistake of the PLO was taking control of the villages by force, expelling people from their homes and setting up their own headquarters there. They imitated other armies in this country, by setting up barriers and unleashing a reign of terror. Yes, there were killings, but not as much as the killings done by the Christians. In Israel they like to talk about the raping done by PLO members. This is not true. There were some isolated incidents, like everywhere else. But it was certainly not common.

"This is how it is in a revolution," a broad-shouldered man says. His soft eyes belie his menacing size. "Hardship and suffering affect people. Besides, this is how it is in every revolution," he says emphatically.

Walid Junblat's home has a martial air about it. Everyone is distributing leaflets announcing the forthcoming strike. The head of the household is in West Beirut, "to help those poor souls," an unshaven young man says to me. "It's too bad you cannot see West Beirut, the fear, the siege, the hunger."

In the absence of the leader, many young men wander in the palace, keeping the faith. They are reserved, uncommunicative. No one wants to talk to me before I meet Anwar Fatayirah, the number two man of the Progressive-Socialist Party. Light hair, round face with a mustache, deliberately aloof.

He speaks as though dictating, and says exactly what he would like to see printed in the Israeli press. "We live under the occupation of the Israelis and the Phalangists. They are constantly trying to occupy the entire region under Israeli protection, and establish one Maronite party. Without the Israelis they are nothing. It is not hard to chase them away. But they take advantage of the Israeli occupation to seize position of power. It won't work. In Bayt Ad-Din the Lebanese soldiers were disarmed and the civilian government, the local Ministry of the Interior, was turned over to the Phalangists. We do not plan to make peace with the situation. For the time being we have decided on a general strike and sending Druze and Christian delegates from the Shuf region to President Sarkis to demand the return of the legitimate Lebanese army. But this is not the end. We will not allow the Phalangists to enter the villages and put up barriers, even if we have to resist them with arms." He speaks with controlled anger.

I am now told about all the actions of the Christians since the IDF invaded Lebanon. Not far from Mukhtarah they smashed the state of Junblat. In the village of (Matah) they killed a wounded man who was taken by his comrades to the hospital. In 'Abay they murdered a Druze. In (Tatar) they captured several dozen Druze, beat them up and inflicted cigarette burns on their bodies. They are still keeping eight prisoners. In Qariyeh they assembled the local population, women and children and elderly people, and tried to drive them into a camp after they occupied their homes. The Druze did not give in. A battle was started in which, I was told, 8 Druze and 60 Christians were killed. The IDF did not interfere. The soldiers sat on the hills and watched the battle.

This list is only the tip of the iceberg. I am told that it does not include the many cases of slaughter initiated by the Christians since the outbreak of the civil war in 1975. In all the attacked villages, especially in all Za'tar, the Christians left behind mutilated bodies. During the Syrian invasion the Christians resumed the slaughter, and in several villages they put naked Druze women on jeeps and paraded them in public in order to humiliate them. "We can live in peace with the Christians," Fatayirah concludes, "but not with the Phalangists. They are real Nazis. We all know about their connections with Hitler and Franco. We will not let those fascists rule us." He keeps referring to the Druze in the Golan Heights as an example of resistance and determination.

Here, at Junblat's stately palace in Mukhtarah, the Druze are living in some kind of a dream world, a mixture of a sincere aspiration for social reform, so badly needed in Lebanon, and dreams of power, of Pan-Arabism and a Druze power. The members of the Progressive-Socialist Party talk with passion about doing away with sectarianism, but are fed by the authority of Junblat and the Druze society. They mention with pride that the Druze founded Lebanon during the Mameluke period, when many Druze emirs ruled Mount Lebanon. They talk about the house of Ma'an that ruled during the time of Fayhr al-Din in the sixteenth century from Antioch in the north to Mount Carmel and Mount Gilead in the south. They have also adopted the house of Shihab, dating back to the eighteenth century, which they insist was Druze, married a Muslim woman and finally became a Christian.

The clinging to the glorious past on part of the Druze is undoubtedly their answer to the Lebanese nationalism of the Maronites. But it seems to have taken on a life of its own.

They look down on the Israeli Druze. They say the latter were trapped by the Israelis who try to develop an artificial Druze folklore in order to separate them from the Arab world. Although they tell you they are first Lebanese and only then Arabs, they aspire for an Arab Lebanon, big and strong. In the suffocating atmosphere of sectarian hierarchies in Lebanon, this mixed up and twisted framework of the Lebanese left is attracting real hardships and just struggles, pathetic as they may be.

9565

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DEVELOPMENT OBSTACLES ANALYZED

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 245, 2 Aug 82 p 37

[Article by Ziyad Tariq: "Mauritania Looking for a Way Out of Its Industrial Crisis: 'Isolated' Development Is behind Failure"]

[Text] Extracting iron has been the most important economic activity in Mauritania. This activity was resumed following the disturbances of the 1977 and 1978 war. The iron that was mined yielded the country's treasury 151 million U.S. dollars. Nevertheless, the problem of Mauritania's economic activity continues.

Mauritania's biggest problem in the mining sector is that its supply of iron is about to be depleted. If Mauritania's iron continues to be mined and sold at the current rate, it is estimated that it will be depleted by 1991. Therefore, the government intends to open new mines in addition to the Zouirat mine. Mauritania thus shifts from a position under a trickle to one that is under a spout. Mauritania has sought loans from the IBRD while Arab funds are being invested in foreign countries because those who have those funds lack national awareness.

Some Arabs, however, have begun to show an interest in Mauritania. They contributed to a government project for mining iron in Guelb where it is expected that international production will amount to 14 million tons a year by 1984 and that it will be somewhat higher after that.

Will this increase in production help solve the country's economic problems, to say nothing of those restrictions that shackle the country further? The problem is that increased iron production in Mauritania, like OPEC's increases in oil production, did not come about as a result of a clear view of developments in western markets with which developing countries do business. Besides, Mauritania's iron exports are facing increased competition from Brazil and Australia, and the steel industry in western industrial countries is suffering from a sharp slump. These two factors have aggravated the effect of the "general crisis" that befell the capitalist international economy. First, iron prices fell and second, the monetary inflation that is exported to developing countries grew.

Besides the problem of iron in Mauritania, there is a problem with the production of another metal: copper. Mauritania had begun producing copper in 1970, but soon copper production was halted, and many Arabs, especially in the east, had not [even] heard of it. It were as though the matter had been a beautiful dream. Copper production was halted because of high costs which were the result of

processing copper ore by using the technological standard that was available to the country. The government's attempts to resume production have not yet been successful.

In addition to iron and copper, Mauritania has large quantities of gypsum, which is produced near the capital, Nouakchott. Recently production has been in excess of 15,000 tons. Instead of using it locally in housing and construction projects that are needed by the country, most of the gypsum that was produced was exported to the cement plant in Senegal. But the curse of exporting products instead of using them locally involves not only iron, copper and gypsum, but it also involves the country's other mineral resources such as tungsten, phosphates, uranium and oil. The latter is extracted from different offshore locations near the capital.

In Mauritania there is another domestic curse which is the product of a number of huge projects that Mauritania had undertaken in recent years in the conversion industry: operations at these projects have come to a halt. Among these projects is a sugar refinery that was built in 1977 for 25 million U.S. dollars. Operations at that plant were halted recently, and the government decided to resume production soon with the help of the Algerians. Also among the huge projects is an oil refinery for 80 million dollars that was built in 1977 with a [production] capacity of 1 million tons. However, operations at the refinery have not yet begun. Why? Because this Arab country has failed to obtain enough oil to refine. This country is also devoted to the principle of exporting exceeds the country's local needs of 200,000 tons of oil. This is another indication of poor planning and of the fact that the country is tied to international markets in a manner that disrupts its independence and its future. The government is thinking of turning to Algeria again to save this project.

In addition to these two large projects in the conversion industry there is an electrical iron smelting furnace and [a plant for] processing iron bars that were abandoned from the Zouirat mine. This furnace failed to begin production as it was set to do in 1979. The failure this time was due to technical reasons.

All these projects ignored the spirit of industrialization and the principles of scientific planning. Thus, there was no coordination among what these projects hoped to achieve. In addition, they relied on an isolated view in their treatment of the Arab economy. These projects did not view the Arab homeland as a single entity and did not realize that breaking up the Arab homeland into several countries was and still is an act intended to tie each country to [the fortunes of] foreign capital which does not accept the challenge directed by these [Arab] governments against their interests when they undertake to carry out a local industry that is not consistent with the unity of international markets. Therefore, it is not expected that the government of Mauritania will find a way out of its industrial crisis any time soon, especially in the iron sector.

Mauritania also has a light industry, and all its projects, with the exception of the fish processing plant and the cement production plant, are small. Most of the government's attention is being directed now to stimulating these industries. It were as though the error had been in the government's interest in heavy industry! The government is expanding the public sector in the area of light industry, and it is encouraging local capital to expand its investments in that area. It is

providing financial incentives to capitalists at the expense of the general tax base. The government recently established a research center for small projects; that research center will offer administrative and informational services to small projects.

The problem here lies in the fact that shifting from heavy industry to light industry does not comprise a clear-cut solution to the country's economic problems. The analysis is wrong, and the view that depends on development does not treat the matter objectively in a manner that is free from class blindness.

If the problem of developing a heavy industry in this manner is tied to international markets within the framework that is set for them, then the future of light industries is also tied to social and economic problems that are no less acute than the problems of international markets.

For this and other reasons we do not expect industry in this country--four fifths of whose territory is desert--to be salvaged even when the capitalist economy gets rid of its general crisis which was created deliberately by major capitalists so they can raise the rate of their local and international profits. If the solution does not lie in agriculture or in services, will Mauritanian planners look for a solution that would come closer to the spirit of the problem and go beyond burying one's head in the sand?

8592

CSO: 4504/455

DOMESTIC POLITICS EXAMINED

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 245, 2 Aug 82 p 10

[Article: "A New Political Map in Morocco"]

[Text] The next parliamentary session, which the 38th chapter of the Moroccan constitution stipulates is to be inaugurated by the king on the second Friday in October, is regarded as one that will be decisive for parliamentary life in Morocco. With that session Morocco's parliament will begin the last year of its parliamentary session that will end next April. Not only is this the first time for Morocco to have a parliamentary session run its full course, but it is also the first time that a session of parliament has been extended for 2 additional years. Thus parties and individuals who are engaged in political activity in Morocco are also assured that parliamentary life in Morocco is now a fact of life. This is what a number of Moroccan politicians did not believe when preparations were being made 5 years ago for parliamentary elections. Herein lies the importance of the new stage in the history of Morocco's politics. The political structure in Morocco is approaching the coming elections with a view that is completely different from the one that was held previously. The first parliament in 1963 was suspended when the state of emergency was declared. The second parliament was brought to a standstill in 1970 as a matter of fact. That was not the case with the third parliament whose next session may actually be the culmination of parliamentary life in Morocco. This requires that all political factions either devote their attention to the actual practice of their rights and obligations or doom themselves to isolation and total alienation.

The first stone that shattered the political silence was thrown by the former leader of the opposition party Mr Ahmed Othman. Othman broke his silence during a meeting of the executive board of the National Rally of Independents last 16 July. Mr Othman ended his silence, which some had considered a concession, when for the first time he accused some government tendencies of incompetence and waste and revealed clearly that there was a conspiracy to destroy the National Rally of Independents and that that conspiracy had failed. The former prime minister and the president of the National Rally of Independents did not reveal the particulars about [a situation] which he described in the worst of terms. But he restored hope to some members of his party which had been kept away from the government late last year, and he practiced what the king had advised him to do: logical opposition. However, when Othman's party turned to the opposition, a large number of people left the party under the leadership of Minister Arsalan

Jadidi and established a rightist, democratic party which retained the lion's share [of positions] in the government. The parliamentary majority was thus undermined, and this gave the Independence party greater power because its delegates stayed close to each other, hoping to become qualified in fact to assume a parliamentary majority in the next parliament.

It is premature, however, to talk about the Istiqlal party having a majority, if the actions of present Prime Minister Maati Bouabid are taken into account (See AL-DUSTUR March 1982). These actions are being corroborated every day, and it is being stated in the circles of Morocco's prime minister that Mr Bouabid intends to run in the elections. There may be talk among socialist union circles--the party that is inactive at the present time--about Maati Bouabid's wishes to declare his candidacy in the city of Sale, the birthplace of the socialist union leader, Abdelrahim Bouabid who committed a grievous mistake when he did not declare his candidacy there 5 years ago and declared himself a candidate instead in the city of Agadir.

The prime minister, along with members of the Moroccan Labor Federation and maybe also the National Union of Popular Forces--the party of Abdallah Ibrahim--are not the only ones who are preparing themselves for the creation of a new political alliance in Morocco. Two old elements in politics that have actual and well-established roots in Moroccan society have surfaced among events: the Democratic Constitutional Party which used to be called the Shura [Advisory] Party, and a well-established political organization that is led by Abdelkrim Khatib. The Democratic Constitutional Party began its activity in this period by attracting 10 current representatives in parliament and perhaps another one from the Istiqlal Party. This party is making preparations to publish a newspaper called AL-HAQIQA [The Truth], and it is pursuing its activities under the leadership of Touhami Ouazzani, who chose his work in politics over a position as Morocco's ambassador to Lagos. [The second political organization is led by Abdelkrim Khatib], one of the political leaders and a leader of the Islamic Movement. Mr Khatib is known to be a member of the Islamic Movement and to be popular in the circles of the Resistance and in the Moroccan Liberation Army. He is [also] the secretary general of the Democratic Popular Movement.

8592

CSO: 4504/455

KING FAHD'S LATEST ADDRESS TO NATION ANALYZED

Jiddah 'UKAZ in Arabic 24, 25 Jul 82

[Article prepared by the Division of Strategic Studies]

[24 Jul 82 p 5]

[Text] Our foundations are belief, Islamic law, and missionary work for God.

Commitment to Arab causes within the framework of the [Arab] League.

Arab solidarity is the only safety valve against both old-style imperialism and neo-imperialism.

In the first speech made by King Fahd to the Saudi people, to the Muslim world, and to all of mankind after taking his oath as king of Saudi Arabia following the death of King Khalid--may he rest in peace--Fahd delineated the foundations of Saudi Arabia's policy on both the foreign and domestic levels. These foundations constitute the backbone and basic factor of cohesion of Saudi Arabia's solid edifice.

Belief

The first of these foundations, according to the king in his historic speech, is belief. Belief is the effective factor of solidarity, close bonds, and unity which exist on the basis of love and brotherhood between the leaders and the people of Saudi Arabia.

Belief means absolute faith in what God revealed in His Book and in the Sunna [sayings and doings] of His Prophet Muhammad, as well as belief in God and His Prophet's mission. Belief produces two elements which characterize the Saudi personality:

1. Psychological stability which, in turn, creates a healthy climate in the home, at work, and in life in general.
2. Adherence to the putting into practice of the basic foundation of Saudi Arabia's policy, which is Islamic law.

Islamic Law

Islamic law is Saudi Arabia's path which originates from the factor of belief which is something that reassures people, opens up their hearts to each other, allows love to prevail, and thus eliminates and diminishes factors associated with disruption and disintegration, the foremost of which are hatred and ill will.

The first premise which unites and binds together the citizens of Saudi Arabia among themselves, on the one hand, and their leader King Fahd and the people, on the other hand, is belief in God and accepting and following the Sunna of our Prophet.

Belief in God and the mission of His Prophet, as we have said, creates a lasting and healthy climate which orients people's hearts toward goodness, doing good works, construction, development, and expanding their vision so that they do not withdraw unto themselves. This factor is Islamic law, by means of which God has shown us His path. And Saudi Arabia is putting into practice the laws and precepts which God has legislated for mankind, and it is the leader of Saudi Arabia who is the vigilant custodian of the implementation of Islamic law.

This country's custodian who watches over the country's path both at home and abroad, by virtue of the fact that he is the servant of the two Holy Places [Mecca and Medina], strives to exalt the word of God and serve the House of God [the Ka'bah] as well as the Prophet's Mosque [in Medina].

The Banner Which Is Carried by the Saudi Kingdom

Missionary work for Islam is the banner which Saudi Arabia has carried, and carries today, in its domestic organizations and its activity abroad since Islam is a complete and all-embracing message which has been given to all of mankind to serve as a source of guidance, to illuminate mankind's path toward goodness, and to provide mankind with psychological stability.

The Three Circles

In the first paragraph of his speech, King Fahd made reference to these foundations--belief, Islamic law, and missionary work for Islam--and placed them inside three basic circles which embrace Saudi Arabia's activity both at home and abroad.

The Arab Circle

Saudi Arabia, or the Arabian Peninsula, was the first cradle of civilization known to mankind. Furthermore, God honored the Arabs by choosing from among them Muhammad as His guide, herald, and missionary. Saudi Arabia's adherence to its commitment to the Arab world and its responsibilities toward the Arab world are two of the permanent factors which guide Saudi Arabia's actions. This is why King Fahd, in his speech, concentrated on talking about the Arab circle.

Saudi Arabia conducts its activities relating to the Arab world within the framework of [the Arabs'] basic regional organization, which is the League of Arab Nations. In its actions, Saudi Arabia is committed to the Arab League charter and to the goals stipulated in that charter. The establishment of the Gulf Cooperation Council is a step which is in agreement with the Arab League's charter which stipulates the establishment of "effective and strong circles" within the larger Arab circle in order to provide support for Arab action and facilitate collective cooperation.

Commitment to Arab Causes

Because of this commitment to the Arab world and to its Arab responsibilities within the framework of the Arab League, Saudi Arabia persistently strives to bring about Arab solidarity on the basis of the following basic premises:

1. The Arab world must achieve political, economic, and military solidarity.

Solidarity on these comprehensive levels requires sincere orientation toward the Arab world rather than orientation toward the Western or Eastern bloc.

2. The Arab world, which for so long has been the victim of both old-style imperialism and neo-imperialism, must realize that its only safety valve is that of closing the Arab ranks, achieving mutual cooperation, and not providing foreigners with any opportunity to infiltrate into our ranks.

Saudi Arabia, on this basis, is continuing its sincere cooperation with its Arab brethren. What always pains Saudi Arabia and makes it sad is to see fragmentation and cracks in the Arab ranks. This is something which has led Saudi Arabia to continue to take actions to eliminate this phenomenon and to warn about its dangers.

For this reason, Saudi Arabia has adhered, and will continue to adhere, to the guidelines which it has set for its policy with regard to the Arab world, which are:

1. Absolute belief in Arab solidarity.
2. Absolute belief in the necessity of having good-neighborly relations prevail among the Arab nations and that they not interfere in each other's internal affairs.
3. Absolute belief in, [achieving] a united Arab orientation and a united Arab view by means of holding a dialogue rather than [going through psychological] convulsions and by means of seeking an understanding rather than fishing in troubled waters.
4. Absolute commitment to the [main] Arab cause, which is the Palestine cause, on the basis of profound awareness of the goal which the imperialists had in mind when they planted this foreign body in the Middle East. The goal was to divert the concerns of the Arab world away from development, industrialization, and the achievement of solidarity, and to make sure that

the Arab nations continue to serve as markets to which the Western and Eastern nations could export their products and to serve as exporters of only raw materials.

The Goal Is to Elevate the Standing of the Arabs and the Muslims

King Fahd has already determined Saudi Arabia's goal in its actions with regard to the Arab world and the Muslim world. The goal is based on striving to elevate the standing of the Arabs and the Muslims.

Everyone knows that King Fahd, since the time that he became heir to the throne, has made great efforts to narrow the gap of the differences which exist between the Arab nations. As they say, "people have different opinions."

The Jihad [Holy War] and Its Concept

In this connection we see that King Fahd was the first person to broach the idea of the jihad, or holy war, as it concerns the Arab and Muslim world. He asserted that it is necessary for the Arabs and Muslims to prepare themselves and thus called upon [each group of] Arabs and Muslims to gather together and build its own house from within, and then to join its house to all of the other Arab and Muslim houses, and this way the Holy Places [in Jerusalem] will be regained.

The Arab Peace Plan

King Fahd was also the initiator of the Saudi peace plan which, by now, has become an Arab peace plan having the objective of settling the Middle East problem and having the Palestinian people regain their rights.

In this connection, King Fahd said: "The plan embodies a Saudi formula which we believe constitutes a practical basis for peace. But this does not mean that there should be no [other] efforts, endeavors, or attempts to reach an understanding concerning the principles [of this plan] as the basic point of departure from which one could succeed in promoting the process of a real and just peace in the area."

King Fahd put forth the plan at a particular point in time because he realized that the Zionists were preparing to strike at and annihilate the Palestinian resistance. World public opinion was being prepared for this when Israel succeeded in picturing the Arabs as being warmongers, rather than people who wanted peace, and picturing the men of the Palestinian resistance as being saboteurs and terrorists.

The timing of the presentation of this plan was something understood only by the 16 Arab nations and those involved with the [Palestine] cause. The plan caused panic among the Zionist enemy. However, the slowness of the Arabs to take action in terms of achieving a consensus or coming to agreement concerning the opinion of the majority was what paved the way for what has happened, and is still happening today, in Lebanon.

A Just and Permanent Peace

King Fahd made several visits abroad for the purpose of explaining the dimensions of this plan and asserting Saudi Arabia's eagerness to bring about a just and permanent peace in the Middle East. King Fahd is continuing to strive to attain this goal, using all possible means.

The Object of Everyone's Admiration

King Fahd has also played a great role in supporting Arab solidarity by means of his participation in Arab summit conferences. One of the conferences which he participated in was the Oman summit conference in 1401 A.H. (1980 A.D.).

During the conference, King Fahd's positions regarding unification of [Arab] ranks and patching up the cracks [in Arab unity] in order that the Arabs emerge with united positions and a single view, as a result of their reaching a brotherly understanding, were the object of admiration and esteem on the part of everyone. They praised the great role which King Fahd played in this regard.

The Lebanese-Palestinian Crisis

With regard to the crisis being confronted by Lebanon and the Palestinian resistance organizations as a result of the Israeli invasion which today has culminated in the siege of West Beirut, King Fahd has kept track of the situation with great concern and has been striving to contain the crisis, give his support to [Arab] solidarity to confront the Israeli aggression against Lebanon, stop the tragedy, and have all Israeli forces withdraw from Lebanon.

Support for Lebanon

At the beginning of the crisis, King Fahd had some telephone conversations with the Lebanese president, Ilyas Sarkis, in which he told him: "Our hearts are with you and they grieve because of the calamity which you are suffering. We have not spared, and will not spare, any effort--God willing--to contain the crisis and put an end to this tragedy of which thousands of our innocent people have been victims because of this brutal Israeli invasion."

Support for the Palestinian Position

At the same time, King Fahd threw Saudi Arabia's entire weight behind the cause of the Palestinian people. He made it clear to those who support Israel--whether they give Israel only a loaf of bread or whether they provide it with rockets--that lack of adherence to Security Council Resolutions 508 and 509, as well as blindly going along with Zionist expansionist aims, means risking their interests and their friendships in the Middle East.

In the international arena it has been unmistakably established that King Fahd's actions have put Israel in the situation of being a beleaguered nation and have consequently given the PLO international momentum and international recognition which Israel has striven to eliminate.

Restraining Israel

King Fahd also said the following in his speech: "We have made, and are still making, intensive and tireless efforts, on all international levels and in all political realms, to work toward restraining Israel and its impudence, to put an end to Israel's criminal aggression, and to have Israel withdraw its forces back behind its own borders. All we ask is that God assist us and crown our efforts with success."

The Islamic Circle

In his political writings, King Fahd has said: "The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is one of the nations of the Muslim world. It is one of them, and belongs to them. The basic reason for its emergence was to carry the banner of missionary work for God. God has also honored Saudi Arabia by entrusting it with the service of His House [the Ka'bah at Mecca] and His Prophet's Holy Place [the Prophet's Mosque at Medina]. Thus the scope of Saudi Arabia's responsibility has widened, its policy has become a distinctive one, and its duties have increased. By carrying out these duties on the international plane, Saudi Arabia, with wisdom and exhortation, is obeying God's order to call upon mankind to follow His path. Saudi Arabia is thus attempting to perceive what the Prophet Muhammad would have done when he was confronted with difficult times and the necessity to make great decisions--times when he utilized his intelligence fully. Islam is a religion of mercy, reason, and strength which rejects sabotage and fights against chaos just as much as it does against degradation, weakness, and slackness."

Commitment to Islam

Calling upon mankind to follow the path of God is not only a responsibility of Saudi Arabia. It is also the responsibility of the entire Muslim world.

[25 Jul 82 p 5]

[Text] Belief is what binds our people and their leaders together.

Our rightly-guided leaders are endeavoring to provide [our nation] with prosperity and stability.

Saudi Arabia bears the responsibility for bolstering Islamic solidarity.

[We must] reunite our ranks in order to confront the enemies of Islam and the Muslims.

The arbitration of God's law [is needed] in order to stop the bloodshed between Iraq and Iran.

Islam is a religion of love, mercy, reason, strength, construction, and development.

In the first article dealing with an analysis of the speech which King Fahd addressed to the nation the day before yesterday, we dealt with the factors which have made the people of Saudi Arabia a nation which possesses a distinctive measure of cohesion and lives in a climate of stability, security, and peace. They are three factors which should prevail in our Arab and Muslim world if we truly want to possess strength of our own and enjoy stability and prosperity.

These factors are: 1. belief, which has brought about, and is continuing to bring about, a mutual bond between the individuals of our nation, on the one hand, and between our nation and its leaders, on the other hand; 2. application of Islamic law which provides our nation with psychological stability, and furthermore enables our people to; 3. engage in missionary work for God.

In the article we also talked about the three circles which embrace the actions of Saudi Arabia both on the domestic and foreign levels. We also dealt in detail with the Arab circle, which embraces the Gulf circle, as a pillar of Arab strength which guarantees its strength and from which it proceeds to achieve its objectives.

We also touched upon the Islamic circle, which we will deal with in detail today.

The Islamic Circle

The community of Islam, in the opinion of our nation's extraordinary leader, King Fahd, is the strongest community [in the world] because of its faith and because of the tremendous wealth and the vital geographical location which God has bestowed upon the Muslim world. However, this community has suffered from factors of weakness due to what has attacked it from outside in the form and guise of "neo-imperialism" or "neo-colonialism," which has the following objectives:

1. Preventing the achievement of solidarity among the Islamic nations.
2. Sowing disunity and discord among the Islamic nations.
3. Infiltrating into the Islamic countries with its destructive ideas which are incompatible with, and hostile to, Islam.
4. Stripping the Islamic nations of their religion by means of sending missionaries [to the Muslim world] and stirring up wars between the Islamic nations.

5. Providing support for the Zionist entity and supporting its aggressive and expansionist tendencies and orientation.

The Islamic Conference Organization

The late King Faysal--may he rest in peace--with his penetrating insight, was aware of the plot which aimed at weakening and dividing the Muslim world. He took the opportunity of the occasion of the Zionist enemy's attack on the al-Aqsa Mosque in 1969 to establish, along with the other sincere members of this Muslim community, the Islamic Conference Organization. He established its principal goal as that of achieving Islamic solidarity in order to strengthen the bonds of brotherhood between Muslims, to develop their cooperation in various fields, and to assert their role in the world.

The basic goal of the Islamic Conference Organization is the establishment of a neutral Islamic group [of nations] which is truly neutral. The nonaligned movement has become semi-aligned with the Eastern bloc, and this has weakened its international role. But the role of the Islamic Conference Organization, on which we should focus all of our Islamic efforts, is one of "real nonalignment." We should do this in order that this organization or, more properly put, Islamic family acquire the power of influence and action to work for the good of all of mankind, because its mission is that of Islam--which God intended to be for all of mankind. Thus the organization's role is both a regional role and an international role.

The Islamic Conference Organization's Regional Role

Its regional role is embodied in bringing about harmony, agreement, and solidarity between all of the Islamic member nations in the organization.

Its regional role also is to achieve a unified political position with regard to all local or international issues.

Its regional role also includes the creation of an Islamic common market.

Furthermore, its regional role--according to what King Fahd asserted in his speech--includes the establishment of a military force which will allow us to frighten off God's enemy and our enemy, and by means of which we will be able to protect our friends.

This requires a sincere and loyal orientation which is Islamic rather than a position which is oriented toward either the Eastern or Western bloc.

King Fahd feels that, had there been the achievement of this objective "which we are still striving to achieve, the great powers would not have hatched their conspiracies against us to sow disunity in our ranks, cut the bonds between us, and invade our lands, the Palestinian people would not have remained for decades without a [national political] entity to protect them and without a homeland to live in, Afghanistan would have remained independent and would not have been trampled upon by the boots of invaders, our occupied Arab lands would have been restored [to their rightful owners], and our people would have breathed the air of freedom and would be free of the tyranny of the oppressors."

Unity in Islamic Ranks

King Fahd feels that if unity in the Islamic ranks had been achieved, it would have prevented Israel from flaunting its aggression.

King Fahd, with his scientific view which is based on accurate research, is also of the opinion that the conspiracies which are hatched by the enemies of Islam against the Islamic family are not restricted to invasions or occupations. These are conspiracies which are open and which can be [openly] confronted. But King Fahd feels that the [real] danger which threatens the Muslim world and which requires that the Islamic family demonstrate effective solidarity is a two-edged weapon which necessitates vigilance [on the part of the Muslims to confront it], and this danger was presented by King Fahd as being:

1. Sowing the seeds of disunity among out nations.
2. Pushing our Muslim people in the direction of extremism.

King Fahd, with his frankness and sincerity which stems from his belief in God, said that our enemy, which must be confronted by means of effective solidarity on our part, is imperialism both in its old and its new form.

King Fahd defined the enemy as being the one that sows the fires of discord that break out between the nations of Islam and backs and supports extremist movements and appeals for violence.

He said that this enemy is imperialism, both in its old and its modern form. He said that this imperialism is basically embodied in the Zionist movement which is like an aircraft carrier of Eastern atheistic imperialism and Western exploitative imperialism which has been brought into the waters of our Muslim world.

Commitment to Islam

In King Fahd's opinion, if we want to have a better future, then we must all work together to achieve Islamic solidarity, restore unity to our ranks, and shoulder the responsibility which Islam enjoins upon us. This responsibility is that of carrying out our role--which is the role of promoting good in human civilization, adhering to our commitment to Islam, to the truth, and to our values, and making Islamic principles, teachings, and values be the path followed in every Islamic nation. The reason for this is that this path is the armor which protects our Islamic family from the dangers which threaten it, is the ideal means to achieve our greatness and our prosperity, is our direct road toward building our future, protects the authentic character of the Muslim world against the tyranny of torrential materialism, and is a strong incentive for both those in charge [of our Muslim nations] and for our Muslim peoples to liberate our Holy Places [in Jerusalem] and regain their rights and status in order that the Muslim peoples, along with the other peoples of the world, participate in achieving equality, peace, and prosperity for all of mankind.

The Path for Achieving These Objectives

In his historic speech, King Fahd dealt with the path which leads toward achieving these objectives. He said that, first and foremost, it involves supporting the Islamic Conference Organization and putting this organization on the level which the king and the entire Islamic family wish to see it be on.

Those who are members of this organization should have only one orientation or one commitment--commitment to Islam.

This is the thing that will enable the Islamic family to occupy the status which it should occupy, if it wants its voice to be heard and if it wants the position it takes to be effective in order to promote its own welfare and the welfare of mankind.

This can only take place by means of intensive consultations between the leaders of the Muslim world, regarding both local issues and international affairs, so that we can achieve the following things:

1. Integration of our efforts in the international arena so that the position taken by the 40 member nations [of the Islamic Conference Organization]--a number which will total 42 when Egypt and Afghanistan return to the fold--will be a single harmonious position in international organizations and institutions.
2. Total understanding of the concept of jihad [holy war]. Pursuing the jihad means building up our Islamic edifice economically and militarily and dispensing with our differences which have caused disunity in our ranks--disunity which the enemies of Islam are promoting among us.
3. Commitment to truth and justice locally, regionally, and internationally.
4. Rejection of injustice and persecution both when dealing with the peoples [of given nations] and when dealing with their governments. In order that this path be pursued, it will require that the Islamic family adhere to Islamic teachings--which are embodied in the application of God's law in a spirit of freedom, justice, human dignity, and preventing injustice and aggression, as well as being embodied in tolerance, mercy, and brotherhood.

Adherence to this path will eliminate the disintegration which imported principles and hostile ideologies are attempting to spread among us. Following this path will also provide firm reassurance for Muslims inside the Islamic family and will safeguard their civilization.

This path can be followed easily because its formative elements already exist. They are embodied in unity, solidarity, and adherence to the path of Islam which is a total path of life that guides [Muslims] toward truth, goodness, and salvation, links [their lives] to their cultural heritage,

provides them with the means to liberate themselves from being lost and from being subservient to others, mobilizes the motives of the force of religion within them, and stimulates them to utilize all of their capacities.

A Strong Muslim World

The religious capacities and forces which King Fahd referred to are the ones which will build a strong Muslim world.

Our Muslim world has a great deal of permanent human and material potential. It includes approximately 1 billion individuals of all races and nationalities which are spread all over a wide area of this earth, and these people possess abundant natural resources. By pursuing this Islamic path which is followed by Saudi Arabia the Muslim world will be able to utilize this potential and these capacities well. In the past this enabled the Muslim world to occupy a prominent status in the world and provided Muslims with the means to achieve prosperity, and it can do so again.

The Religion of Love, Mercy, Reason, and Strength

In this historic speech, King Fahd said: "Islam is a religion of love, mercy, reason, and strength, and it is also a religion of construction and development. It is a religion which can live in any age and can be applied anywhere."

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, which, by the grace of God, enjoys stability, security, and peace which is unprecedented in the entire world, follows the path of Islam both in terms of organization and actual practice.

As King Fahd has affirmed, the call for Islamic solidarity has been issued from these holy lands of Islam. "Thus we are calling upon those responsible for the continuation of the Iraqi-Iranian war to seek the arbitration of the law of God, to halt the bloodshed, and to return to the path of God by putting a stop to this war and by eliminating the causes of the outbreak of this war."

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